

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

Continuity and Change in Sociological Study

Robin M. Williams, Jr.

Social Mobility and Administrative Behavior

Melvin Seeman

Mobility Among Students' Families

Vincent H. Whitney and Charles M. Grigg

Inference and Proof in Participant Observation

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Participant Observation in a Military Program

*Mortimer A. Sullivan, Jr., Stuart A. Queen,
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Verbal Attitudes and Overt Acts

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Social Types: Process and Structure

Orrin E. Klapp

The Profession: Reports and Opinion

Review Article: The "Jacob Report" by David Riesman

Book Reviews and Notes

December, 1958

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CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY *

ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR.
Cornell University

WITHIN the generous scope of the topic of this paper, almost any subject of interest to sociologists could be discussed. We do not intend here, however, to attempt to take all sociological knowledge for our province. In fact, the very impossibility of so encompassing the accumulated knowledge in this field is a striking indirect tribute to the advances made in the science during the century since the birth of Durkheim and Simmel—all fads and foibles notwithstanding. Lest this appraisal seem overly optimistic, we may recommend the simple operational test of, first, reading the sociological works available to the world in 1858, or for that matter in 1928, and then turning to those now in our libraries. Such a test will disclose ample evidence that the discipline today knows vastly more, and knows what it knows much more exactly and systematically, than at any earlier period. This must be said clearly and simply, for our profession has on occasion shown signs of falling prey to a kind of institutionalized self-blame which is not justified by the contemporary facts of the case. The degree of intellectual control we can now command over an incomparably difficult body of complex phenomena is of an order, incomplete though it be, that needs no apology and requires little defense. Perhaps the time has come to deemphasize the youthfulness of sociology in favor of inventoring its progress toward the responsible

exercise of an adult role in the community of sciences.¹

It is from this standpoint that we wish to raise several crucial questions concerning the past development, present condition and future prospects of the field of sociology. What are the accomplishments that constitute enduring additions to human knowledge? And, what are some of the pressing challenges we confront?

ON CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Professor Emory S. Bogardus lately reminded me that Lester F. Ward in his address as President of the American Sociological Society in its first annual meeting in Providence, Rhode Island, December 27, 1906 began with these words: "I do not propose on this occasion to enter into any defense of the claims of sociology to be called a science. I wish simply to show that its history, and the steps in its establishment, do not essentially differ from those of other

¹ "Sociology . . . is a science of human interaction in which the attempt is made to discover systematic evidence for determinate relations between classes of social data in order to develop generalizations that are true under specified conditions. To the extent that these generalizations or hypotheses form a logically interdependent system, sociology is a mature science." Richard A. Schermerhorn and Alvin Boskoff, "Recent Analyses of Sociological Theory," in H. Becker and A. Boskoff, editors, *Modern Sociological Theory In Continuity and Change*, New York: The Dryden Press, 1957, p. 61.

* Presidential address read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, August, 1958.

sciences."² Ward went on to argue that the then current state of sociology was comparable to that of astronomy in the seventeenth century or of chemistry "before the discovery of the true nature of combustion." How far, if at all, have we moved since Ward delivered his paper fifty-two years ago?

It is appropriate to use the occasion of the centenary year of the two sociologists whose achievements we honor at these meetings to pause for reflection upon both the enduring and the changing features of sociological knowledge, procedures, and styles of thought. To what extent has change in sociological study been a matter merely of shifts in foci of interest and of fashions in methods and concepts,³ or a matter of cumulative achievement according to scientific canons? To concern ourselves with a question of this kind need not expose us to the dangers of excessive professional introspection. On the contrary, to cite a behavioral hypothesis of some plausibility, effective action requires a clarity of self-identity that is aided by confronting our past actions and the reactions of others to those acts.

There is merit in regarding the effective history of a discipline of sociology having authentically scientific aspirations as, for the most part, extending back rather less than a century. For it is only in this period that there has developed the clarity of concepts, the construction of theoretic schemes, the command of research methods, and the funding of systematically organized empirical findings which we must regard as minimum requisites of the characterization of sociology as a social science. It is entirely fitting, therefore, to reexamine the state of the discipline in order to discern important continuities, if such there be, in this vigorous and rapidly changing field of study.

Sociology has had a set of enduring con-

cerns:⁴ with social differentiation and integration, the conditions of stability and change, the study of group structure and functioning, of institutions, of value and belief systems, and so on through a long and well-known list. After all, we can still read the works of the Fathers and understand them, and even profit from them.

In more recent times, the proliferation of numerous specialized fields, each with its many specific studies, has created pressing problems of coherence and order at both the conceptual and the substantive-empirical levels. Partly in response to this situation, we recently have witnessed renewed efforts to build theoretical schemes intended to be capable of ordering the full range of sociological knowledge, or at least a major portion thereof.

At a less comprehensive theoretic level, efforts to establish continuity in research, as well as to formulate coherent sets of empirical generalizations, have multiplied in recent years. Among many examples one may point to the secondary analyses and commentaries upon *The American Soldier* series⁵ and *The Authoritarian Personality*,⁶ the summarizing papers on "Current Problems and Prospects in Sociology" presented at the 1957 meetings of the Society,⁷ and the publication of numerous summaries and evaluations of recent research⁸ in special fields.

⁴ "Although the development of sociological theory has not been a smooth progression, it has nevertheless been relatively free from the disturbing discontinuities that reflect intellectual chaos." Alvin Boskoff, "From Social Thought to Sociological Theory," in Becker and Boskoff, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁵ R. K. Merton and Paul Lazarsfeld, editors, *Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of The American Soldier*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950.

⁶ Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda, editors, *Studies in the Scope and Method of the Authoritarian Personality*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954.

⁷ Many of which appear in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. editors, *Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects*, New York: Basic Books, 1958.

⁸ E.g., Robin M. Williams, Jr., *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions*, New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947; Reinhard Bendix and S. M. Lipset, editors, *Class, Status, and Power*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953; Mirra Komarovsky, "Continuities in Family Research: A Case Study," *American Journal of Sociology*, 62 (July, 1956), pp. 42-47; J. B. Gittler, editor, *Review of Soci-*

² Lester F. Ward, "The Establishment of Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, 12 (January, 1907), p. 581.

³ "Yesterday's concepts are forgotten for the sake of today's notion. Who remembers Tarde's laws of imitation when he writes about reference groups? Who wonders in what respects they are different answers to the same concern, or whether they tell the same story in different words? And where is there real continuity in the formulation of theories?" Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg, editors, *The Language of Social Research*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955, p. 3.

The utility of this type of work has not been fully explored by any means, and it appears to have considerable promise.

Along with the enduring lines of continuity, there is no need to emphasize the obvious fact of fundamental changes. In the interests of brevity, the risk must be taken of giving the impression of dogmatism in summarizing a few of the more important recent changes that have left their mark on the American sociology of today. In no particular order:

1. A marked increase in the technical apparatus of the discipline and in the sophistication of its research workers concerning methodology, research procedures, and techniques.

2. The increased use of approximations to experimental design. Although these efforts are typically very far from achieving known and detailed control of all potentially relevant variables, many interesting and useful results already have been obtained from experimental and quasi-experimental research.

3. The development of more comprehensive and systematic conceptual schemes. Although many of the formulations have not yet been firmly anchored in empirical findings, and although a really tightly reasoned, comprehensive deductive system does not exist, real progress has been attained in this sector.

4. An increasingly close and effective relation between research and theory, and greatly improved clarity concerning the mutual functions involved. The live issues that still remain here are mainly practical questions of emphasis and procedure.

5. Greater specialization, keeping pace with the growing volume of research and publication. Part of the wider range of specialization has represented the emergence of partly new substantive areas such as medical sociology, industrial sociology, mental health, and intergroup relations.

6. More widespread and effective use of statistical devices and mathematical thinking. There appears no convincing evidence that would lead one to suppose that this movement will not continue. This development has had its share of abortive efforts and false panaceas, but current work on

the whole appears to have outgrown fads and to be conducted in a spirit of realism.

7. The incorporation of data, concepts, and theories from closely related fields, especially from anthropology and psychology but also from history, political science, and economics, and to a lesser extent from other disciplines, including law and the medical sciences. At the same time, sociology has contributed substantially to its neighbors among the social sciences.

8. Widespread diffusion of a relatively clear and sophisticated conception of the place of values in sociological study, as an object of research, as a factor in behavior, and as an element to be controlled in the prosecution of research. It is not surprising, of course, that substantial controversies are still with us in this area.

In general, as Znaniecki noted, the most recent period has been characterized by a striving for methodological perfection, a tendency to concentrate upon specific testable problems, and especially upon the testing of hypothetical relations among factors or variables.⁹ The predominant, although far from unanimous, professional opinion seems to be that the most pressing current need is to analyze the larger sociological "visions" into more manageable problems that can be put to empirical test in the context of a systematic theoretical orientation.

An inspection of the program of these 1958 meetings of the American Sociological Society quickly shows the alertness with which present-day sociology seizes upon current events as contexts for scientifically oriented research. We are dealing with public reactions to Salk vaccine with John Kaspar, contemporary music, the Chinese in Jamaica, the Soviet Union, panhandling, John Dewey, economic development in Turkey, the woman executive—and a variegated array of other concrete topics. At first glance, even the professional sociologist, not to mention any outside observer, may wonder whether and to what extent there is unity in sociological studies. For the most part, however, this proliferation of particular topics represents an entirely normal division of labor and specialization of skills and knowledge. To what

ology: *Analysis of a Decade*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958.

⁹ Florian Znaniecki, "Basic Problems of Contemporary Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (October, 1954), pp. 519-524.

extent the division of labor represents the "organic solidarity" we have a right to expect of a coherent field of study is itself a subject for sociological analysis. The present specialized interdependence will attain the impersonal unity Durkheim envisaged for society at large if, and only if, its disparate concrete concerns are approached by an accepted procedure (analogous to the "rules" that lie outside of and antedate specific contracts), if its concepts are generic conventions, and if its goals express the common-values of the search for invariant, intersubjective knowledge.

With these notes on continuity and change we have reached our allotment of space with regard to the background of the present situation.

ON THE PRESENT CONDITION OF SOCIOLOGY

As we approach the present state of the field we find that many burning issues of the past have been resolved or are at least relatively dormant. We no longer argue quite so energetically, as issues *in principle*: qualitative *versus* quantitative methods, statistical techniques *versus* case study, experiment *versus* natural observation, attitudes *versus* actions, theory *versus* research, and so on. It may well be that it was necessary and fruitful to have these questions debated to the extent that they were, and there is no doubt that important questions remain for future resolution or other disposal.¹⁰ In the present thinking of the profession, however, one finds a certain disaffection with extreme "ideological" positions on these matters. In the case of research methods and techniques, in particular, there appears to have been a growing tendency to take a rationally pragmatic position: one uses that which "works best" as judged by the criteria of reliability, validity, elegance, power, and economy.

It is still the case that among us there are different types of scientific consciences,¹¹

which, following Schellenberg,¹² we might characterize as (1) the historical and cultural, (2) the concrete and clinical, and (3) the logico-experimental. Persons in the first grouping are concerned with broad social and cultural comparisons. Those of the second persuasion are interested in the detailed description, analysis, and diagnosis of specific situations. Those in the third category hope to use abstract concepts referring to exact observations and used to construct predictive hypotheses concerning relations among variables.

To these types of sociology correspond reference groups—the standard-setters, comparison groups, aspiration groups, audiences, judges, and gate-keepers of career lines. The collective views of these rather vague and shifting collectivities represent different kinds of consensus as to the norms and goals of sociological study, albeit a consensus marked by a high standard deviation and rather low test-retest reliability. To the extent that these norms are internalized, they may be described as variants of a common sociological conscience.

What are the main features of these professional super-egos?

To the historical and cultural conscience, it is above all important that the object of study be historically and culturally *important*. Such a conscience will have little to do with those social phenomena that are unlikely to receive names, dates, and the evaluation of posterity. The events of large scale, the punctuations of the flow of historical routine, the massive cycles of war, politics, migrations, religion, art, law, philosophy—such are primary objects of interest for scholars of this kind. It is understandable that a conscience of this type would insist upon intimate familiarity with a wide range of materials, and place a high value on erudition of great scope and detail. It is by the same token wholly comprehensible that sociologists of the persuasion being suggested might feel a certain lack of patience with horizons bounded by one culture and a time-span of, at most, a generation, at the least, a thirty-minute laboratory session. We may expect that they will not be overly impressed

¹⁰ Disagreements on all these topics still exist. The point here is only that the extreme positions are more and more thinly populated. Cf. the judicious appraisal by Nicholas S. Timasheff, *Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth*, New York: Random House, 1955, Chapter 22, "Mid-Twentieth Century Sociology."

¹¹ For illuminating ideas on this topic I am indebted to my Cornell University colleague, William Lambert.

¹² James A. Schellenberg, "Divisions of General Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (December, 1957), pp. 660-663.

by the findings of studies of what they may deem the "formless groups" and "trivial" attitude measurements of much current research.

To the "clinical" sociologist, on the other hand, a primary virtue is detailed and sensitive fidelity to the complex, immediate situation. His anxiety-dreams are likely to be studded with horrid fancies of having "torn a fact out of context" or, perhaps worse, having "generalized beyond the data." His conscience is clear and his disposition sunny when after a long experience of immersion in a factory work group or a boy's gang he completes a vivid naturalistic description of complex behavior and its complex motivation. In his harsher moments, he may describe the historical or cultural sociologist as an "arm-chair theorist," the experiment as "artificial," and the survey as "crude" and "mechanical."

To persons in the logico-experimental group, the ideal study is the highly controlled experiment or the sample survey, complete with scales, scores, probability samples, and possibly electronic computers. Their language is the language of "antecedent-consequent relations," "variables," and "controls," "break-down analysis," "confidence limits," chi-squares, and "suggestions for further research."

Although these hypothetical descriptions border on the fanciful, some germ of truth may lurk within them. And it does not seem fanciful at all to suggest that these three types of orientation have demonstrated their usefulness within the hospitable boundaries of contemporary sociological work.¹³ What has to be decided on the basis of experience is what combination of approaches is most productive for particular types of problems at given levels of knowledge and systematic formulation.

In the allocation of our quite limited resources among the tasks judged to be most advantageous for advancing knowledge, it is, by definition, an error to throw time and talent into zones that have already been won, at the expense of sectors still firmly resistant. There was a time not long past when it was

necessary to demonstrate, in the face of great skepticism, the sheer fact that sociological factors do exist and that they are important causal agents in human conduct. Much energy was devoted to this task, and the effort was eminently necessary in various substantive fields at one time or another. Informed opinions will differ as to the extent to which the effort has been successful. Although the task is far from completion and will require much continued effort, it appears that the main priority is no longer that of arguing for and demonstrating the sheer importance of "the social factor." That importance is now widely granted in circles which were largely impervious to such a conception even a few years ago.¹⁴ The more urgent need now appears to be that of the verification of propositions which show *how* and *to what extent* specified social factors enter into the determination of specified conditions, events, and processes. By now many governmental administrators, psychiatrists, social workers, public relations workers, educators, and business executives have come to believe as a matter of course, that "social factors" (or, "human relations") are indubitably important. What these people now want to know is just what social factors under what conditions are likely to be followed by what consequences.

The incorporation of a portion of sociological work into the literate culture of our times has not been confined to the effects just noted. As a further example, it would be an instructive and useful enterprise to collate a sample of the quite large number of instances in which sociology and related social sciences have demonstrated that accepted "facts," popular theories, and commonsense assumptions are clearly false. Even the most casual review will reveal striking examples. To remove the alleged factual basis for erroneous beliefs is clearly a significant social function. Perhaps equally worthy of note is the implied importance of insuring that the generalizations we do widely disseminate

¹³ Cf. the remark of Charles Horton Cooley: "The mind is not a hermit's cell, but a place of hospitality and intercourse." Quoted in Edgar F. Borgatta and Henry J. Meyer, editors, *Sociological Theory: Present-Day Sociology from the Past*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956, p. 45.

¹⁴ An obvious distinction must be drawn between recognition of the importance of social factors, on the one hand, and recognition and acceptance of the profession of sociology, on the other. Knowledge derived from sociology may be used under other professional labels, and there is no guarantee that credit automatically will be bestowed where credit is due.

have the authenticity claimed for them. Boomerang effects do occur and they are not always favorable. It is fortunate that sociology on the whole has insisted, by example rather than merely by precept, upon facing social realities squarely and upon genuine needs for clarity rather than pseudo-needs for rationalizations.

Among the possibilities for enhanced clarity at the present stage of development, special attention perhaps is due to hypothesis-formulation and to the formalization of specific theories.

In the first instance, it appears that increasingly we find that research is directed toward evidence that accredits what can be called a *complex-adequate hypothesis*, that is, an hypothesis which selects several weighty factors and combines them in a statement of maximum likelihood. The complex hypothesis seeks to impound a cluster of independent variables, all of which help to account for variation in X. Thus, if X is friendship formation (interpersonal liking or attraction), a "classic" hypothesis would be: the greater the frequency of interaction between any two persons, the more likely it is that there will be mutual attraction, all other things being the same. In the complex form, one might say: "within an interaction situation, friendship formation will be more likely to occur the longer the situation occurs, the more often it is repeated, the more intimate it is, the less (the) competition that is involved, the more relaxed the atmosphere, and the more need there is for mutual activity."¹⁵ Although hypotheses of this kind still require us to remember that they are expected to hold only if the usual formula is added of "all other relevant causal factors being the same," their virtue is in a closer fit to the complex surface of the empirical world of experience. In following the approach now under examination the investigator seeks to achieve *variable-saturation* in order to maximize the accounting of actual variance in concrete social phenomena of very considerable complexity. In spite of what initially may appear to be crudeness, such predictive hypotheses are capable of a kind of empirical

precision often lacking in the abstractly persuasive "classic" X-Y hypothesis. One must add that the selection of variables as well as the anticipatory appraisal of probable importance will be the better the more comprehensive and logically integrated are the conceptual schemes and abstract theories upon which we can draw.

The *formalization* of theory predictive of empirical findings is still in its earliest stages and a firm appraisal of its possibilities can not yet be made. The appeal of such an approach is very great. It has demonstrated enormous power in every field of science in which it has been extensively employed. A formalized, especially a deductive, statement has the high virtues of conciseness and economy of expression, of the detailed explicitness that encourages completeness of statement and that exposes errors of reasoning, and of the capacity to generate diverse predictions from a few axioms and theorems. As Merton has argued, a formalized theoretic scheme facilitates predictions of sufficient precision to allow decisive rejection of alternative explanations. In the past, discussions of these matters in sociological circles have drawn examples mainly from other sciences. At long last, however, islands of formalized deviations are beginning to be glimpsed in sociological exposition.

Let us try to explicate, by two concrete examples, the nature of certain current efforts to build limited bodies of research-based theory.

A Miniature Theory of Group Relations. In the Cornell Studies in Intergroup Relations, it was found that frequency of interaction with members of an out-group was closely associated with favorable attitudes (or lack of negative prejudice) towards persons in that social category. This finding was replicated in fourteen different surveys, among adults and youths in five widely scattered American communities; it holds true for men and women, for the educated and the uneducated, for persons in high and in low socio-economic levels, and so on. It is maintained even when such socio-psychological variables as "authoritarianism" are controlled.

It may well be said that this is a correlation which tells us nothing as to what is cause and which is effect. Fortunately, it is

¹⁵ Edward A. Suchman, et al., *Desegregation, Some Proposition and Research Suggestions*, New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1950, p. 52.

possible from panel data to show that changes in attitude follow changes in interaction and that changes in interaction follow changes in attitudes. The causal sequence is reciprocal, mutual, and circular. In any case, within quite wide limits, the more we interact with a particular person, the greater the likelihood of positive attraction. Now, upon initial reflection this statistical uniformity surely must seem quite incredible. We know how easily interpersonal enmity arises, how great are the secondary gains from socially legitimated hostility, how pervasive and tenaciously held are those stereotypes which stand in the service of needs, and we are acquainted with the ubiquity of "vicious cycles" in human relations. Is it, then, totally inexplicable that, more often than not, in these studies, increased interaction leads to increased liking, even transcending those strong initial prejudices which are reinforced by and anchored in vested interests and group consensus?

At the community level, with which these studies were concerned, we find certain broad social categories—ethnic, "racial," and religious. These categories are defined by more or less definite and more or less widely shared stereotypes and affective-evaluative attitudes. Given these definitions, the social categories begin to mark off real collectivities just to the extent that cumulative interaction, segregated intercourse, and differentiated behavior lead to awareness of collective differences, of common fate, and to identification with an in-group and its symbols. Through these processes, what was originally a mere aggregate becomes a functioning collectivity, a diffuse but often quite powerful part of the social structure.

Now, given such structures existing side by side in the local community, we can see that intergroup relations involve several distinct sets of social processes, not just one. At the level of inter-personal relationships of individuals, one set of processes occurs in specific situations of intergroup contact, in which behavior is importantly affected by the normative expectations each of the interacting parties has concerning his own reference group's probable reactions to his conduct in the situation, and his expectations and demands concerning the behavior of the other person as such. Because of the large number

and complex interaction of *other* factors, the interacting parties typically will find themselves modifying their initial definitions of the situation, oftentimes quite markedly, in different concrete situations and in the same situation as it moves from initiation to termination.

But the community also exhibits for us, at the same time, a second distinct set of relevant processes, namely, those that occur exclusively within each of the collectivities taken separately. Here, within relationships marked by a need for relations of trust, stereotypes are reinforced, awareness of group identity and difference is sharpened, and in-group solidarity is inculcated and strengthened by example, precept, and reward. These processes are the more effective, the greater the segregation of the socially recognized collectivities, and the more intense the competition and conflict among them. Within the invisible walls of the collectivity, the expression of out-group "prejudice" provides a legitimized mode for the management of otherwise disruptive or uncomfortable intra-group aggressions, supplies a common universe of discourse, reinforces a sense of belonging, and serves as a set of credentials of membership.

All this goes on at the level of formal or informal interpersonal relations in small groups and in the episodic situations of everyday life. When, however, we turn our attention to the processes that set the larger precedents for the basic patterns of inter-collectivity relations, we confront still a third aspect of intergroup relations, often neglected in research and theory building. For some of the most decisive intergroup processes are those involving contact between representatives of formally organized groups, on the one hand, and those involving decisions (whether unilateral or joint) about relations between the collectivities as such, not just among individuals who happen to be classified as members. Relations at this level have structural properties that cannot be easily or directly inferred from knowledge of interpersonal conduct at the level of the small group. Here we have the phenomena of the decisions leading to a "Little Rock," the establishment of a policy of *Apartheid*, the perpetuation of segregation in publicly-supported housing, the abolition of official seg-

regation in the armed services. In such crucial precedent-setting public decisions, interpersonal relations of friendship or enmity or even the private attitudes of the decision-makers often have surprisingly little to do with the outcome. These are "decisions at a distance," which by their very nature, tend to be categorical, that is, involving the familiar perceptual processes of simplification, sharpening, and levelling as well as the social imperatives of abstract generality, universal administrative applicability, and concrete definiteness of classification. Although we know far less than we need to know about the regularities of behavior at this level (as we have been reminded by Jessie Bernard, Blumer, Frazier, Lohman, and others) the recognition of the distinctive properties of such behavior is an indispensable first step toward productive work in the future.

In this context, let us return to our initial question concerning the explanation of the formation of relations of friendship across group boundaries. In this area, one can begin to discern the embryonic outlines of a miniature theory, which holds promise of integrating several important lines of sociological and psychological thinking. In his presidential address before our sister society, the American Psychological Association, Theodore M. Newcomb ably presented a theory of interpersonal attraction which may serve as our present point of departure. Newcomb derives the following central proposition: "Insofar as communication results in the perception of increased similarity of attitude toward important and relevant objects, it will also be followed by an increase in positive attraction."¹⁶

In the appraisal of this conclusion, we may bring a combined sociological and psychological argument to bear. As an actuarial matter, the evidence shows that (other things being equal) propinquity increases the frequency of interaction. Opportunities for contact are in very important measure, determined by the elaborate compartmentalization of social structure, which marks off "acceptable" lines of communication according to sex, age, place of residence, kind of occupation, social rank, ethnic membership,

and so on. Assuming that the greater the opportunity for contact the greater, on the average, will be the frequency of interaction, what processes lead to interpersonal attraction? Given a similar cultural background and a situation calling for interaction, *rewards* are most likely to be obtained from those with whom one interacts frequently. To the extent that the reward-punishment ratio in the interaction is actuarially positive, the mechanism of *reinforcement* will operate.¹⁷ To the extent that one actor develops positive feelings for the other, the likelihood increases that he will reward the alter.

The more alter is rewarded the more likely it is that he will reward ego. In this reciprocal process, then, to the extent that the interaction that has now been set in motion discloses *common interests* that are *observable* and *valued* by the actors, the likelihood of mutually rewarding behavior is increased. The "benign cycle" will be further facilitated to the extent that *complementary interests* and "*symbiotic*" *emotional needs* are found to be served by the interaction. It is through the cumulative interplay of these processes, that mutually gratifying relationships of solidarity emerge in interpersonal communication.¹⁸

It is immediately evident that this account is consistent with several lines of development in sociological work, for example, Merton and Lazarsfeld and Williams and associates on the role of similarity of values in friendship-formation, Winch on the com-

¹⁷ One may even be allowed to suspect that the interpersonal relationship which supplies *no* rewards is a limiting theoretic case. Almost any interaction, no matter how "unpleasant" at the time, contains some gratifications, even if these be largely unconscious.

¹⁸ These formulations are consistent with the first of Glaser's hypotheses: "Change in an identification pattern tends to occur in one of two sequences, as follows: the first sequence which we call 'reflexive conversion,' involves first, a change of feelings aroused by contact with persons of a particular ethnic identity, then a change in association preferences, and lastly a change in ideology; the alternative sequence, which we call 'ideological conversion,' involves a change in ideology first, then a change in association preferences, and lastly, a change in feelings aroused by contact with persons of a particular identity." Daniel Glaser, "Dynamics of Ethnic Identification," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (February, 1958), p. 35.

¹⁶ Theodore M. Newcomb, "The Prediction of Interpersonal Attraction," *American Psychologist*, 11 (September, 1956), p. 579.

plementarity of needs in marriage, Homans' and Bales' propositions concerning relations in small groups, and Parsons' account of the basic processes in psychiatric therapy, to mention only a few. Obviously the notions sketched here are highly incomplete and tentative, and we have said nothing of the counter-posing processes which eventuate in misunderstanding, mutual defensiveness, alienation, dislike, fear, and interpersonal conflict. But it is to be hoped that we may be permitted to deal with one thing at a time, and, that at least some of us share the opinion that the formulations we can now present represent continuity in theory and research, a not inconsiderable funded achievement of past thinking within the profession.

Of course, what has just been presented represents only a small part of our present knowledge and disciplined speculation concerning intergroup relations. We have suggestive evidence that even in discordant or "prejudiced" interaction which, for any cause, is continued over a considerable span of time, the participants mutually come to have increased concern for one another: the relationship grows in salience and importance. The data also suggest that in the course of such interaction the interpersonal perceptions and affective attitudes will become increasingly differentiated, complex, and organized, that is, cognitive, cathectic, and evaluative orientations become richer, more dense, more elaborately structured. It is presumably through such processes, resulting from the imperious confrontations of interpersonal communication and the inevitable revelations of innumerable aspects of personality, that intimate and long-continued intergroup contacts tend to modify or dissolve previously-held rigid and affectively gross stereotypes. But let us resist the temptation at this time to excavate farther in this particular vein and turn instead to one other illustrative set of substantive problems.

A Miniature Theory of Formal Organization. Another example of a small "island" of interrelated generalizations and hypotheses, derived from much empirical research, that now appears ready to be recast in coherent and partly deductive form concerns behavior in formal organizations directed toward unitary task accomplishment. Let us begin by noting an empirical tendency for larger size

of such organizations to lead to greater specialization of function.¹⁹ In any case, with a more elaborate division of labor there arises increased differentiation of interests, of status-ranking, of rewards, and of control. It seems on the whole that this greater differentiation increases the likelihood of tensions and clashes of interests; yet at the same time the differentiated structure results in heightened interdependence of individuals and subunits within the organization. The high degree of interdependence, we postulate, tends in turn to lead to a recognition among the participants in the organization of the importance of preserving the existing order of relationships, in whole or in part. Then, if the importance of maintaining the organization is so valued as to outweigh the dissatisfactions generated by the processes just described, differentiation will lead to increased *formality* in communication, including face-to-face interaction among individuals occupying different positions.²⁰ Thus, it is the combination of clashing interests with an effective desire to maintain the organization that is decisive: formality becomes a structural means of controlling tension, permitting the needful activities to proceed in a predictable way.

And simultaneously, formalization or conventionalization is favored by another set of conditions. The larger the size of the organization, in general, the longer its lines of communication. The greater the specialization of function, the more complex will be the communicative network. Both of these circumstances, in turn, will lead directly to formality, by definite processes we will not now stop to describe.

Now, one consequence of formality is to create difficulties of expressive-emotional

¹⁹ This is not an invariably necessary or sufficient condition. One can imagine that as a result of changes in technology or group objectives, an organization might actually show increased specialization with a *decrease* in size. However, with given technology and goals, greater size does favor specialization. This can be asserted without falling into the Durkheimian error.

²⁰ It is further hypothesized that the degree and extent of formalization will be the greater, the less the shared interests and values of the members, apart from their organizational differentiation. Other factors, of course, also contribute to formality, e.g., rational considerations of reliable and accurate communication.

communication, including the "corrective feedback" of feelings which is so omnipresent in informal social relations. And the greater these difficulties in the formalized channels of interaction, the greater will be the tendencies to form informal subgroupings and off-the-record lines of communication.

The factual tendency for informal or off-the-record channels of communication to emerge arises also from the impossibility of providing for all organizational exigencies within the (necessarily) abstract and generalized formal rules. The more varied and changing are the problematic situations arising in the course of the organization's activity, the greater will be the part played by such *ad hoc*, informal communication. Independently and simultaneously, informal groupings are being generated by the interaction occasioned by common activities among aggregates of like-circumstanced individuals, brought together by the organizational allocation of specialized and interdependent "functions."

Still a third set of sequences can be discerned. Given the facts of large size, differentiation, clashing interests, extended and complex channels of interaction, and formalization, we know empirically that there will be marked tendencies toward centralization of control and the development of a hierarchy of influence and authority. This centralization then further contributes to the blockages and distortions of expressive, as contrasted with instrumental, communication already generated by formality.²¹ The same result, therefore, is reached by two routes and the two sets of processes reinforce one another.

We are assuming that patterns of affective neutrality, universalism, ascription, specificity, and collectivity-orientation are most likely to be invoked by superiors as requirements of alters in dealing with subordinates.²² This is another way of saying that

we expect formality to be maximized at sub-boundaries within the organization, both at "breaks" in the formal status-hierarchy and in interaction across "functional" groupings. The within-boundary interaction of sub-systems will tend to be "informal."

Given the centralized formal structure and some blockage and distortion in the expression of aspirations, fears, dissatisfactions and other affective states among the members, it would still be conceivable that the directing centers of the organization might be appraised of these states and willing to allow for them in the "official" channels of interaction and communication. Even in such an idyllic organization, however, the necessary "corrections" will take time, that is, there is "lag" in the equilibrating processes. We therefore may reason that large differentiated organizations must contain informal substructures and that such organizations must operate by a continuous, rapid oscillation between the two interlaced structures, between the formal-centralized and the informal-local emphases.²³ The oscillations will not be random but will constitute necessary movements in the accomplishment of organizational goals.

Although these generalizations clearly do not constitute a definitive account, the present formulation is drawn directly from well-known and easily accessible research; it economically summarizes a considerable amount of knowledge; and, above all, it is vulnerable to being proved wrong at specific points by future research. In such respects, modern sociology does have the valid claim

the Theory of Action, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953, p. 147.

²³ We are here considering specific aspects of the organizationally disruptive interests and motivations of its component actors. Cf. Parsons' comment on organizations: "... it is reasonable to postulate an inherent centrifugal tendency reflecting pulls deriving from the personalities of the participants, from the special adaptive exigencies of their particular job situations, and possibly from other sources." Talcott Parsons, "Some Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 1 (June, 1956), p. 79. It will be noted that the present attempt to formulate a principle relating "formality" and "informality" is consonant with Bales' conception of a "balance" between goal-accomplishment and "... the diffuse satisfaction, which depends upon the accomplishment of expressive-integrative goals." Parsons, Bales, and Shils, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

²¹ Instrumental behavior is expressive behavior "in harness," and we well know which comes first in any life history.

²² Among several possible causes of this phenomenon, we may recall Bales' suggestion from the study of small groups: "... there must be something about high participation and specialization in the technical and executive directions which tends to provoke hostility." Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales, and Edward A. Shils, *Working Papers in*

that it has improved upon our discursive commonsense knowledge of the functioning of formal organizations, which loom up so importantly in the present national and international scene.

These two examples may suggest the value of immediate work on recodifications and systematic formulations of our research-based knowledge. The evidence is overwhelmingly clear that we are, in fact, finding sizable "streaks of uniformity"²⁴ in social life. To systematically record our clusters of substantive theory, in addition to the conceptual development of theoretic schemes, would do much to dispel unwarranted pessimism based on a century-long rehearsing of the complexity of symbol-mediated behavior, the alleged vagueness of concepts, and the alleged indeterminacy of social acts. If the test of the pudding is in the eating, we do not have to wait still another generation to show that sociology can supply solid fare for intellectual nourishment. Already in the literature are hundreds of empirical propositions, going beyond the purely factual description of a particular state of affairs, which rest upon repeated successful tests.²⁵ A substantial further advance will be achieved as we organize these findings into logically inter-connected clusters, working toward eventual aggregation in terms of a systematic conceptual scheme.

ON CHALLENGES AND THE FUTURE

Let us turn, finally, to certain important challenges and opportunities for future development.

First, a scientific sociology, by definition, cannot be provincial. Among the opportunities for future research, a high rank accordingly is occupied by comparative or cross-cultural studies, especially those that will investigate specific hypotheses by objective operations. This opinion is no longer the pious hope it once would have been; research already accomplished shows the scientific value of transcending a sociology confined

to its own national culture. One may call to mind as ready illustrations the series of investigations of child-rearing practices stimulated by the Social Science Research Council, Zelditch's study of sex roles, Becker's hypotheses concerning marginal trading peoples, and the rapidly growing body of cross-cultural knowledge concerning ethnic and racial relations.²⁶ Inkeles and Rossi have shown important similarities in the cultural evaluations of types of occupations in the industrialized countries of the U.S.S.R., Japan, Great Britain, New Zealand, the U.S.A., and West Germany. Freeman and Winch report a unidimensional scale of social complexity, empirically derived from ratings of a sample of quite diverse societies. Advances in the comparative study of institutions and social processes of complex national systems possibly are foreshadowed by such beginnings as the comparison of social mobility in France and the United States, the nine-nation UNESCO study, and the slowly emerging macroscopic analyses of national institutional systems.²⁷

In the second place, because the task of sociology is to discover regularity in social life, it is easy to exaggerate the concrete orderliness of modern complex societies, in all their decisive political and military turmoils, and this tendency is further encouraged just to the extent that research focuses on enduring groups and upon massive formal structures. The implied challenge here is only to incorporate more fully and clearly in our theory and our research the study of such matters as discontinuities in communication, of fluid and rapidly changing situations, of pro-normless collective behavior, of misunderstandings and lack of symmetry in social roles. Our world is full of crisis-conditioned, imperfectly structured relationships among

²⁶ Cf. Andrew W. Lind, editor, *Race Relations in World Perspective*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955.

²⁴ Harold A. Larrabee, *Reliable Knowledge*, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1945, p. 282.

²⁵ For an appraisal of the reliability of some of these propositions, see Robert C. Hanson: "Evidence and Procedure Characteristic of 'Reliable' Propositions in Social Science," *American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (January, 1958), pp. 357-370.

²⁷ E.g., Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society: A Sociological Interpretation*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951; Arnold M. Rose, editor, *The Institutions of Advanced Societies*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958; Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951; Florian Znaniecki, *Modern Nationalities*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952; Howard Becker, "Current Sacred-Secular Theory and Its Development," in Becker and Boskoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-185.

persons and collectivities, under such conditions of rapid and massive change that we may require ideas more novel than "equilibrium" to understand them.

For social science, it might seem, the best of all possible worlds would be one in which totally integrated societies in smooth and precise movements always returned to a steady state, while all of the individuals living in such systems occupied clearly defined statuses, carrying explicit and easily describable rights and duties, and in which, therefore, every ego always acted as an alter demanded or expected and *vice versa*. This conception has its attractions. As other than an abstract model, however, this image also has the potentiality of leading to dysfunctions, not the least of which is that, taken too literally, it would severely limit the intellectual challenge of coping with the enormously difficult problems of specific empirical explanation of social conduct.

In all this, the great intellectual economy of our most commonly used sociological concepts is easily recognized and is of high value. As is the case with everything else, however, virtues can quite easily be transmuted into vices. We could not well do without the term "status." But its use requires us to remember that such "statuses" as "woman," "Negro," "professor," "lawyer" represent heroic abstractions from concrete social behavior; that it is the limiting case and not the usual one when expected behavior is derived from one status rather than a combination of them; that the principles or "rules" by which statuses are combined may be at least as significant as the manifest norms defining each position; that some definite statuses may not be explicitly recognized by members of the group in which these positions exist; and that quite complex "social types" typically arise as a consequence of individual and subgroup variations within a broadly-defined status or social category.²⁸

The insidiousness of reification is well recognized in general terms, but remains a challenge in specific instances of analysis and interpretation. In studies of social strati-

fication it is often said, or implied, that individuals "strive for status," or "are motivated to 'get ahead,'" or "struggle for prestige." Here we have to make the elementary sociological distinction between the *motivation* for a pattern of activity, on the one hand, and the *social consequences* of that activity, on the other. We may recall the need for keeping the question of purpose or intention clearly separate from the question of function or consequence. Surely it is the case that many persons who attained high prestige status by achievement were initially little, if at all, motivated to seek prestige as a goal; in particular cases, the ends-in-view of the actors were quite otherwise, and the social rewards eventually forthcoming were from their point of view fortuitous, if not unwelcome, by-products. Similarly if we were to say that the Cromwellian revolution was a revolt of the middle classes it would not do to imply without further evidence that "class" considerations were actually important in the concrete motivations of the intensely religious followers of Cromwell. Analogous pitfalls abound in other areas of inquiry. At the present time, the literature of sociology and social psychology contains many references to "conformity"—conforming to norms, "yielding to social pressure," or "adjusting to the requirements of the reference group." If the object of these references is to point to the sheer fact of *correspondence* and *convergences* of demands and expectations, no damage is done. But the implication is easily drawn that the actors in question are *motivated* solely in terms of the immediate positive and negative consequences of conformity or non-conformity, rather than in terms of "expressing" or "affirming" internalized values, or of being rationally persuaded on questions of fact and evaluation. The interpretative hazards in this instance, as well as some positive safeguards, have been demonstrated by such work as Asch's critique of "prestige suggestion," supported by experimental demonstration of great variability in the motives of conformity behavior.

It has sometimes been suggested that sociology together with anthropology might eventually develop into a "grammar of the social sciences." What appears to be envisaged in this suggestion is that we may be

²⁸ Donald S. Strong, "Social Types in a Minority Group: Formulation of a Method," *American Journal of Sociology*, 48 (March, 1943), pp. 563-573.

enabled to discover reasonably invariant principles whereby statuses are differentiated, segregated, and combined, or put in Parsonian terms, whereby the value standards of a system of action are arranged in patterns.

For specific social systems, are there meta-norms by which norms are arranged, rules for combining rules, standards for organizing standards? It would appear logically that there must be such principles of social grammar and fragments of scattered evidence are beginning to suggest that this deduction may be confirmed. To use Everett Hughes' expression, "dilemmas and contradictions of status," if properly observed, may serve to bring out regularities hitherto only vaguely suspected.

Another major challenge is suggested by the observation that it is not unlikely that the anthropological and sociological thought of the past half century will appear in retrospect to have been somewhat over-impressed with the importance in group formation and social unity of shared commitment to a set of fundamental values. Possibly it is time to reexamine, in a quite critical and concrete way, the range of problems suggested by such phrases as "social cohesion," "integration," "antagonistic cooperation," "interdependence," and "conflict." That this is not a new suggestion does not detract from its pertinence to sociology at this point in history.

Still another basic challenge lies in the study of communication. It is likely that we ordinarily underestimate, rather than overestimate, the importance of ignorance and error in communicative efforts. Of course, in our analysis of interaction it is legitimate to construct the conceptual model of perfect communication, with full complementarity of expectations and exact mutual comprehension of meanings. But both ordinary social experience and modern research show us that communication is often not free, full, accurate, or mutual, and that failures and distortions continually occur. In fact, as we know, much communication actually consists of efforts to modify, correct, supplement, retract, reemphasize, or otherwise alter what we discover we have just communicated or have not communicated. It follows that we need more careful study of unwitting distortions, unintended deviousness, subterfuge, secrecy, defenses, and hidden intentions.

Research in sociology is beginning to give us important information on these matters, but the necessary work ahead is enormous.

On the other hand, to recognize the extreme subtlety and complexity of behavior by no means implies that only clinical feeling for the unique case can be used to gain valid knowledge. The problem of sociology, insofar as it wishes to be able to deal with the micro-sociology of interpersonal relations, rather, is to start with a precise and detailed phenomenological description which enables us to isolate the crucial variables for study. A pertinent example is provided by the problem of the differing consequences of "deprivation" versus "rejection" for the personality development of the child,²⁹ a problem in which operational specification of the main factors seems feasible.

One difficulty in the relations of sociological research to other disciplines is that of differing conceptions of mensuration, precision, and phenomenological fidelity. To a team of a clinical psychologist, a physiological psychologist, and a psychiatrist studying "childhood schizophrenia," the addition of a sociologist is expected to add firm and precise knowledge and insights concerning parent-child relations, at least a general understanding of unconscious motivation, and some researchable ideas concerning the possible effects of early affectional deprivation and of parental conflict and ambivalence. In a widely removed area, the sophisticated economist who is studying economic development in a country newly ambitious for industrialization may have a general notion of the relevance of cultural and social factors. But his questions to the sociologist have an inherently imperative character, for example, to what extent will capital furnished by outside aid be drained off in conspicuous consumption of upperclass groups, to what extent will villagers respond to higher wages, what labor turnover can be expected, under these and other conditions?

It is in such contexts that sociology requires not only a theoretic apparatus and a capacity to develop penetrating hypotheses but also a high order of research craftsmanship. It is not too much to ask that every

²⁹ Cf. S. Kirkson Weinberg, *Society and Personality Disorders*, New York: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1952, pp. 274-279.

holder of an advanced degree in sociology today should be capable, upon proper notice, of really designing in procedural detail a study capable of testing a vulnerable hypothesis. Were we not prepared to demand as much, we would be likely to find that sociology would be left with the cruder variables and the vaguer problems while the more productive avenues to knowledge were preempted by other disciplines.³⁰ One can discern in some quarters a tendency to restrict "sociological factors" to such gross categories as social class, religious affiliation, and ethnic membership, while the study of such genuinely sociological factors as the norms of husband-wife interaction, or "mothering" behavior with infants, or patterns of treatment of juvenile delinquents is held to be the province of psychiatry, clinical psychology, and social work. Simmel said that "Society does not consist merely of the objective social structures which have attained a certain independence of the individual bearers; it also consists of the thousand minor processes of socialization between individuals which contribute to the functional unity of the group."³¹ To give body to this undoubtedly valid insight will require a subtlety of research technique not easy to achieve but immensely rewarding for future scientific development.

For research methods are more than gadgetry; they are the keys for unlocking the doors of opportunities for developing the substantive bodies of theory, now crystallizing out of the accumulated knowledge of the discipline. In the future perhaps even more than in the past it will be found that there is an "... intimate connection between the discovery or development of methods of research and the development of new bodies of theory."³²

Certainly there is no reason to suppose that sociology of the future will be exactly

the same as that of the present, nor does it have to be fashioned according to the models of physical and biological sciences.³³ The most tenable definition of "science," in any case, is a range definition based on the history of the very diverse special sciences. Whether we approve or disapprove of it, it is a fact that sociology today contains both the scientific aspiration to derive analytical laws explaining relations among precisely indexed abstract variables, and the historical intent to communicate a part of the experiential richness of concrete human action. It may be predicted, without too much daring, that for the foreseeable future both emphases will be with us.

There will be those who would closely shave Plato's beard with the keen edge of Occam's Razor, who would choose to work with a few variables in a closed and simplified system, whose pride is the demonstration of rigorously determinate relationships, regardless of how far removed from the full historical texture. And there will be those who seek to show how the repeatable pattern is embedded in such a texture. Surely both are right to follow their respective visions, and it is not impossible that an occasional sociologist may be able to carry on a friendly affair with both Muses without losing the affections of either.

In full awareness of the dangers of prophesies, we are willing, in conclusion, to present what one may believe and hope will turn out to be a prediction of the self-fulfilling kind. The prediction is that sociology, together with the more closely related parts of the other social sciences, is now on the verge of important advances in systematic *substantive* theory and that within some such period

³⁰ For an example of skillful interweaving of cultural and personality-process data, see William Caudill and George De Vos, "Achievement, Culture and Personality: The Case of the Japanese Americans," *American Anthropologist*, 58 (December, 1956), pp. 1102-1126.

³¹ Kurt H. Wolff, *The Sociology of George Simmel*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950, p. 41.

³² A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta, and Robert F. Bales, editors, *Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955, p. viii.

³³ "After all, the physical sciences have constantly invented new methods to deal with new sorts of data. . . . The biochemists, for example, did not conclude because the methods used in the analysis of simple inorganic compounds would not work in dealing with complex organic substances, that therefore no adequate methods were possible, so that there could be no respectable science of the chemistry of living beings. On the contrary, they went ahead to invent new methods as well as new techniques for the understanding of organic part-whole relationships. In the same manner, those who aim to be social scientists are entitled to invent their own ways of mastering their materials, and to challenge the skeptic to doubt the reliability of their results." Larrabee, *op. cit.*, p. 485.

as the next twenty years there will be major discoveries of lawful regularities in the functioning of groups and other social aggregates and systems. It is entirely possible that these discoveries will enable us to build at least partial deductive systems accounting

for a large variety of concrete social phenomena in terms of quite simple structures. And in the meantime as well as in that hypothesized future, sociology will continue to enrich and clarify the world of experience for those who know and understand its contributions.

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR *

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THIS paper seeks to answer the following question: What does an executive's attitude toward mobility, as distinct from the fact of mobility, have to do with his administrative performance within an organization? This question represents something of a departure from two traditions in sociological research on mobility. First, we are not concerned with mobility rates, but with the more dynamic question of what such mobility signifies for an individual's behavior. Second, we treat as a problematic variable what is commonly assumed as a given in American society—namely, the assumption that mobility motives predominate and that there is a nearly universal competitive struggle for scarce and invidious status.

Few would acknowledge, perhaps, that such a "mobility assumption" characterizes their own work; and many would agree, as a matter of course, with the proposition that mobility commitments vary considerably among individuals. Nevertheless, the evidence of such a working assumption is not difficult to find: it appears, for example, in the readiness to impute mobility motives to those who have moved upward, or to portray American society as a vast model of mobility pressures; and in the readiness to base interpretations of data upon implied striving for comparative "place."¹

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¹ In their study of business executives, W. L.

Other appraisals of the mobility motive (in the sense of striving for invidious rewards) are entertainable.² One may surely make a case for the view that intrinsic standards of achievement are more commonly held and more effective functionally than the mobility model would have us believe. But regardless of the incidence of these two types of motivation—status orientation as against intrinsic goals—they are recognizable alternatives that may dominate behavior. The explicit recognition of such alternatives highlights the need to distinguish carefully between the fact of mobility and attitude toward it. This paper presents one approach

Warner and J. Abegglen appear to posit such a mobility model and to impute such motives; cf., *Big Business Leaders in America*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. They write: "The principle of rank and status provides the motives for the maximal use of our energies, for the orderly functioning of institutions, and for responsible leadership hierarchies" (pp. 11-12). Elsewhere in the same volume, speaking of a chapter titled "Men in Motion," the authors remark: "It [the chapter] tells the story of the immigrant and of the country boy migrating to the city. It shows how each goes through a process of learning and unlearning and of being acculturated and assimilated as he drives ahead toward power and esteem" (*Ibid.*, p. 7, italics mine). J. Greenblum and L. I. Pearlman make invidious status-seeking a central element in their interpretation of data on mobility and prejudice in "Vertical Mobility and Prejudice," in R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, editors, *Class, Status, Power*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953, esp. p. 486.

² See, e.g., Melvin Tumin's criticism of the functionalist position regarding invidious rank in "Some Principles of Stratification: A Critical Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (August, 1953), pp. 387-394. Similar questions have been raised by Nelson Foote and Paul K. Hatt in "Social Mobility and Economic Advancement," *The American Economic Review*, 43 (May, 1953), pp. 364-378.

to the measurement of mobility attitudes; and seeks to relate both fact and attitude (on the mobility side) to the performance of an executive role.

PROCEDURE

The executives, in this case, were 50 school heads. Sixteen of them were city superintendents; four were administrators of smaller "exempted village" schools; and thirty were executive heads of local school districts. These men were chosen on several grounds, but two considerations were foremost. First, as school leaders they are rather mobile, in a geographic sense; and it has frequently been alleged that they are mobility-minded in the prestige sense. It is a widely-held view that the school administrator's position readily becomes an instrument for furthering both class interests in general and personal status interests in particular.

Geographic mobility and vertical mobility are not the same thing, but they are intimately related. The aim here is to examine, as closely as possible, the independent effects upon behavior of job movement (which, in some sense, is typically both geographic movement and movement up the prestige ladder) as against the attitude about "climbing" that may motivate it. We seek to test whether the executive's adaptation to the available opportunities for movement—taking into account both the fact of movement and attitude toward it—is reflected in his behavior as an administrative leader.³

The second ground for choosing these men lay in the fact that their leadership pattern had already been carefully investigated by Halpin.⁴ His study, taken in

conjunction with our own mobility measure, made it possible for us to go beyond the internal correlations that are so frequently found in attitude research (where an individual's response on a given scale is correlated with the same individual's score on a second measure). Here, it was possible to obtain scores on the independent variables—career history and mobility attitude—from the executives themselves; and to correlate these with the description, by others, of the leader's performance.

Halpin asked a sample of teachers and board members (as well as the superintendent himself) to describe the executive's behavior by using a "Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire" (LBDQ). An earlier factor analysis of this scale identified two major dimensions of leader behavior: "Initiating Structure" and "Consideration." Halpin describes these as follows:

Initiating Structure refers to the leader's behavior in delineating the relationship between himself and members of the work-group, and in endeavoring to establish well-defined patterns of organization, channels of communication, and methods of procedure. Consideration refers to behavior indicative of friendship, mutual trust, respect, and warmth in the relationship between the leader and the members of his staff.⁵

The LBDQ contains 80 items, but only 30 of these are used to define the two scores described above. Examples of the 15 items that are keyed to the Initiating Structure dimension are: "He encourages the use of uniform procedures" and "He sees to it that staff members are working up to capacity." Examples of "Consideration" items are: "He does personal favors for staff members" and "He gets staff approval on important matters before going ahead." Previous studies (in education, industry, and the military) have shown that these scales can reliably discriminate among leaders; and the two dimensions—which are measures, essentially, of the goal-emphasis (Initiating Structure) and the group-maintenance (Consideration) functions of leadership—are generally independent.⁶

³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴ The tie between geographic movement and vertical climbing has been reviewed in several places. See, for example, R. Scudder and C. A. Anderson's study of a Kentucky community, "Migration and Vertical Occupational Mobility," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (June, 1954), pp. 329-334. Warner and Abegglen, *op. cit.*, comment on this tie as follows: "Thus, the men of the business elite are mobile not only in the social distance they have traveled from their social birth position, but also in the geographic distance they have traveled. The two great currents of movement in America—through social and through physical space—are intertwined into a single process" (p. 189).

⁵ A. W. Halpin, *The Leadership Behavior of School Superintendents*. Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 1956.

⁶ Halpin's study dealt with the question: Do school staffs, school boards, and executives agree in their description of what the school leader does (and should do) in performing his role? To

The chief problem concerning mobility was the development of a suitable attitude measure, one which would reveal the executives' relative commitment to a "mobility orientation" as against an "intrinsic achievement orientation." Through a series of interviews with practicing administrators, 60 items were developed to constitute the long form of the "mobility-achievement" (M-A) scale.⁷ Twenty-five of these items were selected to constitute a short form of the scale. The M-A scale (which follows the Likert agree-disagree format) asks, in effect, four kinds of questions about mobility:

1. Does the respondent take a generally favorable or unfavorable view of the mover and his motives? (For example, item 17: The executive who has his eye on the jobs up the line, just can't go all out for the group he's serving at the moment.)
2. Given a choice among specific alternatives, what values will the respondent sacrifice in the interests of advancement? (item 5: I wouldn't let my friendship ties in a community stand in the way of moving on to a higher position.)
3. Do the respondent's personal commitments about mobility reflect a positive or negative view of mobility as applied to him? (item 4: My goal has always been to wind up as

head of a small organization that I could guide over the long pull.)

4. Are the consequences of mobility, or of stability, seen as essentially positive or negative in character? (item 8: If you stay quite a while in one executive position, you become too concerned with keeping things as they are.)

Responses to the short form of the M-A scale were obtained from 44 of the 50 executives studied by Halpin. In addition, the career mobility of these men was traced through the records of the State Department of Education; and information on parental occupation was obtained as an index of intergenerational mobility.

The reliability of the M-A scale has been found to be moderately satisfactory for group use. In the present case, with 44 executives using the short form, the corrected split-half reliability was .64; and in a parallel case, involving 100 high school principals who used the 60-item long form, the corresponding figure was .75. Using some 300 insurance executives who responded to the M-A long form, Robin⁸ obtained a corrected split-half reliability figure of .71; and Silberman, in an unpublished study involving a random sample of a West Virginia community, obtained a corrected reliability of .75 with a modified short form of the M-A scale.

The question of the validity of the M-A scale is a more difficult matter. Its very conception, of course, precludes the use of the fact of mobility as a criterion; and it is difficult, indeed, to conceive of "known groups" or direct indices that can serve as unequivocal validating events for this kind of scale. It would seem that we are dealing here with a problem in "construct validity." As Peak puts it, "... the ultimate test of the validity of any construct and of the measures which enter into its definition, is found in the utility of the construct in the process of reducing the matrix of events to some meaningful order."⁹

answer this question, Halpin used three groups of informants: (1) a sample of seven teachers in each of the 50 communities, (2) from three to seven school board members, and (3) the executives themselves. The scores from these three sources are treated separately. The sampling procedure is given in detail in the monograph cited. An extensive report on the LBDQ (including information on its development and application, the derivation of the factors and their reliability, with a complete listing of items) is contained in a recent monograph edited by R. M. Stogdill and A. E. Coons, *Leader Behavior: Its Description and Measurement*, Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, Bureau of Business Research Monograph No. 88, 1957.

⁷In our contrast of "mobility" and "achievement," the latter does not imply "comparison with a standard of excellence" (cf., D. C. McClelland, et al., *The Achievement Motive*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953). We refer simply to goals which are not status goals in themselves, and which are presumed to be intrinsically valuable to the respondent in contrast to the value of status betterment. Thus, family interest, community and friendship ties, school program, and the like, are all taken, in the meaning of this scale, as instances of "achievement" rather than "mobility" emphases. The basic conception of this scale leans heavily on the unpublished work of the late Paul K. Hatt, and on the paper by L. Reissman, "Levels of Aspiration and Social Class," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (June, 1953), 233-242.

⁸S. S. Robin, "Executive Performance and Attitudes Toward Mobility," unpublished M.A. thesis on file at The Ohio State University, 1957.

⁹"Problems of Objective Observation," in L. Festinger and D. Katz, editors, *Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences*, New York: Dryden Press, 1953, p. 273. The term "construct validity" is found in L. J. Cronbach and P. E. Meehl, "Construct Validity in Psychological Tests," *Psychological Bulletin*, 52 (July, 1955), pp. 281-302. The

Two indices of mobility were used: an index of inter-generational mobility, labelled "prestige origin," based upon a rating of parent occupations; and an index of career mobility, based upon the frequency of job-change over a 17-year period, 1940-1956. In the case of prestige origin, a low score indicates high mobility. The index of career mobility expresses the ratio of possible job changes to actual changes, ranging from .00 (an executive who served seventeen years in the same position) to .67 (a highly mobile executive with an average length of stay per position of 1.3 years).¹⁰ We assume that the career index roughly corresponds to an index of movement up the professional ladder—that on a group basis, job movement and vertical movement are closely related.¹¹

present study, as well as those by Robin and Silberstein, become part of the process of validation to the extent that the work with the scale yields a set of consistent theoretical results. Silberstein's unpublished data indicate that, consistent with prediction, the effect of mobility on prejudice is dependent upon the meaning of mobility to the individual—i.e., upon mobility-achievement orientation as measured by an M-A scale. Robin factor-analyzed the 60-item form of the M-A scale, and tested the prediction that mobility-achievement orientation would be reflected in the performance of insurance executives. He isolated three major factors, and showed that these were significantly and differently related to various records of productivity.

¹⁰ In eight cases, this index was based upon less than seventeen years, (where career lines involved out-of-state positions, or the like). The ratio ignores those years for which data were not available on the given individual. One of these cases, for example, involved a 35-year-old executive whose record began in 1948. He made two changes in the eight years from 1949 to 1956 and thus had a mobility index of .25. Thus, "possible job changes" refers to years for which data were available and in which the respondent could have changed jobs.

¹¹ Two assumptions, centering around the two mobility measures, require comment. Inter-generational mobility was indexed directly by the father's score on the North-Hatt scale of occupational prestige. This assumes that these executives are roughly equivalent in current status, since they all occupy substantially the same occupational position. This assumption of rough equivalence does not contradict the notion that career mobility among these men is typically associated with vertical mobility. In the latter case, we are interested in the subtler status scales that apply within an occupation; but these may be ignored for purposes of inter-generational comparison.

Though it may appear so, the mobility assumption is not involved in the postulation of a corres-

RESULTS

The proposition to be tested is quite similar to that involved in Silberstein's companion study of ethnic prejudice. Contrary to the current fashion, one may argue that upward and downward mobility are not in themselves critical events affecting prejudice, but are significant only in relation to the status meaning which the person assigns to the fact of mobility. Similarly, this study posits the view that the fact of mobility itself is not predictive of administrative behavior (although it may have indirect influence, as brought out below); whereas taking account of the respondent's orientation toward mobility will yield significant trends.

The process of "taking account" requires a demonstration that the mobility-achievement distinction is a productive one in either of two senses: the M-A scores in themselves are significantly related to leadership style; or leadership scores are found to be predictable on the basis of an interaction between the fact of mobility (that is, career movement) and the attitude brought to bear on that movement (that is, M-A score). The remainder of this paper considers these two propositions in turn, presenting the empirical case for the view that the individual's orientation toward mobility, both in itself and as it bears on his career history, is an essential ingredient in understanding the mobility process—in this case, in understanding the significance of mobility for leadership style.

Before turning to these substantive questions, the degree of relationship that obtains among the mobility measures themselves requires comment. Table 1 presents the inter-correlations among the three mobility in-

dependence between geographic movement and vertical mobility. Three considerations, among others, will indicate the line of argument involved. First, though economic gain may be involved in these moves, there is no necessary implication that rank considerations (rather than, let us say, family welfare) must have been motivationally important. Second, the correspondence is not stated here as a more or less universal rule, and we would thus expect the correspondence to be considerably attenuated in other groups (e.g., among blue-collar workers). Third, the fact (if it is a fact) that status gain is characteristic for those who have moved tells us nothing about the motives of those who did not move but who may have had ample opportunity for rank improvement, i.e., those who chose other values in preference to status gain.

TABLE 1. INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG THREE MOBILITY MEASURES

	Career Mobility	Prestige Origin
Mobility attitude	.39	-.07
Career mobility18

NOTE: These coefficients were based upon 44 cases. A correlation of .30 is required in order to be significantly different from zero at the .05 level of confidence.

dices: mobility attitude (as measured by the M-A scale); career mobility (obtained through job histories); and prestige origin (as determined by the father's occupational prestige). As Table 1 indicates, the latter two measures are quite independent; while the correlation of .39 between mobility atti-

mobility indices and the reported leadership of the executive, that is, the reported scores on Initiating Structure and Consideration as seen, respectively, by school board members, staff members, and the executive himself. These data yield two notable results:

1. As predicted, the measures of movement *per se*—career mobility and prestige origin—show little relationship to administrative behavior; these *r*'s are generally low and none reaches the level required for statistical significance.
2. The M-A score, in two of the six instances, correlates significantly and in the predicted direction with the leadership scores—executives who are highly committed to mobility are said by board members to be low in Consideration (–.37); and describe themselves as being relatively high in Initiating Structure (.38).

TABLE 2. PARTIAL CORRELATIONS (WITH AGE HELD CONSTANT) BETWEEN MOBILITY MEASURES AND LEADERSHIP SCORES OF 44 SCHOOL EXECUTIVES

Mobility Measures	School Board's Description		Staff Member's Description		Executive Self-Description	
	I.S.	C.	I.S.	C.	I.S.	C.
Mobility attitudes	-.20	-.37*	.14	.19	.38*	.08
Career Mobility	-.15	-.28	-.02	-.06	.00	.10
Prestige origin	.16	.08	-.02	.10	-.18	.01

NOTE: The leadership scores used in computing these *r*'s were averages based upon multiple describers from the school board and staff, and a single describer in the case of self-description. "I.S." refers to scores on Initiating Structure, and "C." to consideration scores.

* Significant at the .05 level of confidence, using a two-tailed test.

tude and career mobility is significantly different from zero (at the .05 level of confidence, using a two tailed test). Apparently, those who are committed to movement in a status-striving sense—high scorers on the M-A scale—do, in fact, move more often. There is, however, an age factor to be considered here: the older respondents tend, as one might expect, to score lower on the M-A scale ($r = -.31$), and they tend, also, to change jobs less frequently within the test period ($r = -.61$). If we control for the influence of age, through the use of partial *r*, the correlation between M-A score and career mobility becomes .27. Clearly, the three mobility measures are not interchangeable or redundant.

Table 2 presents evidence on the relation of these mobility measures to leadership performance. This table contains the partial *r*'s (with age held constant) between each of the

These results are encouraging as far as they go: they tend to support the view that the distinction between "mobility" orientation and "achievement" orientation is a useful one. And they tend, in some degree, to further the view stated earlier, namely that mobility, in itself, is not of over-riding importance. For we have seen that mobility orientation relates to leadership style, while inter-generational and career mobility are not predictive of the executive's organizational behavior.¹²

¹² We are dealing, however, with the total score on a new scale whose components remain to be further clarified. A factor analysis is currently under way, using a larger sample of school principals. With regard to the present sample, two points of clarification are in order. First, though the sample consists of only 44 executives, the leadership scores are based upon a considerably larger group of teachers and school board members. Second, since our purpose is to examine the utility of the scale

We must explore, however, the possibility of interaction effects—the possibility that movement does play a role in the determination of leadership style, but a more complex role than we have heretofore examined. The idea of interaction presumes that *mobility has a differential significance when it occurs under different motivational conditions.*

By way of illustration, one such interaction hypothesis (spelled out in terms of our three critical variables—leadership style, career mobility, and M-A score) would run as follows: Those executives who have highly mobile career histories *and* who are aiming up the ladder (that is, have high M-A scores) will exhibit a cautious approach to organizational change. They will, the hypothesis holds, be significantly different in their degree of educational conservatism from both their counterparts in mobility ideology (high M-A's) who have not been successful in career movement and their counterparts in career movement (high mobility) who do not share the same status-centered ideology. Or, to take Initiating Structure as the dependent variable, one might expect that significantly low scores will be typical of those administrators who combine high career movement with low commitment to mobility values. For, hypothetically speaking, these are the administrators who, in contrast with the stable executives, do not develop the uniform and traditionalized procedures that presumably go with a long stay. And they are distinguished, too, on the attitude side, from the mobility-minded executives in that they are not motivated to use highly-ordered task performance as an instrument of their mobility desires. Thus, the combination of movement that is not mobility-driven yields an executive type that is likely to under-emphasize what is here called Initiating Structure. In short, these hypotheses hold that career movement is a distinguishing variable when it is taken in conjunction with ideology about mobility.

To test such hypotheses regarding interaction, we had, of course, the two leadership measures depicted in the previous sections.

and the distinction it carries, we engage here in a close analysis of these executives on whom it is possible to triangulate, so to speak, data derived from the objective record of their career, their subordinates and superiors, and the executives themselves.

It was possible to develop, in addition, an index of the executive's responsiveness to educational change, to test directly the first interaction hypothesis outlined above. This index was based upon eight items (in the LBDQ) that are not a part of the scoring for Initiating Structure or Consideration. Illustrations of the items that compose this Change score are: "He stresses keeping up with new educational trends;" and "He recognizes the need for new practices." A high score on these eight items indicates a high degree of readiness to try out new proposals, while a low score indicates conservative behavior.¹³

These three leadership measures, then, were cast into a two-by-two analysis of variance design in which respondents were distinguished as high versus low on the M-A scale, and as high versus low in career mobility. In making the latter dichotomy, it was necessary to take age into account since, as noted earlier, age and career movement are related. To achieve some control of age variation, ten age groups were established and each group was then divided into a high and low career mobility category. In the analyses which follow, therefore, each respondent is high or low in career mobility *relative to his age peers*.¹⁴ The success of this procedure in controlling for age is indicated by the fact that the mean age (rounded) for the high mobility group is 48 years, and for the low mobility group, 47 years.

This cross-classification on the basis of the two mobility variables—history and attitude—yields a four-way typology of executives which may be designated as follows: (1) the mobile non-striver (combining high

¹³ The scores on the Change dimension tend to correlate rather highly with Initiating Structure and Consideration—particularly the latter—but there is enough independence (especially as far as staff and self-descriptions are concerned) to warrant separate treatment of the three leadership variables. For the self-descriptions, the correlation of Change with Initiating Structure was .18, and with Consideration, .47. For staff descriptions, the corresponding *r*'s were .35 and .57.

¹⁴ This procedure means, of course, that what is called high mobility for the 60-65 year old executive may be low mobility for the 35-40 age group, since "high" and "low" groups are designated in relation to the career movement scores for the given age group.

TABLE 3. MEAN LEADERSHIP SCORES FOR EXECUTIVES CROSS-CLASSIFIED BY MOBILITY ATTITUDE AND CAREER HISTORY

Type of Description and Career History	Change		Initiating Structure		Consideration	
	Low M-A (A)	High M-A (B)	Low M-A (C)	High M-A (D)	Low M-A (E)	High M-A (F)
Board description						
High mobility (1)	3.91	3.40	5.92	5.00	6.08	4.50
Low mobility (2)	3.59	4.40	5.65	4.60	6.12	4.80
Staff description						
High mobility (3)	6.00	3.00	3.92	5.70	5.42	6.60
Low mobility (4)	4.53	6.20	5.35	5.20	5.82	6.61
Self description						
High mobility (5)	5.00	4.50	3.58	4.50	4.92	5.20
Low mobility (6)	4.24	5.20	5.06	6.80	5.41	5.00

NOTE: This table presents nine repetitions (for three leadership scores derived from three different sources) of a two-by-two classification based on high and low career mobility and high and low M-A score. The number of cases in each of the four cells for any given two-by-two comparison varies, but the number is constant in each of the nine repetitions. Thus, the number of cases in the group with high career mobility and low M-A score is 12 (cells 1-A, 1-C, 1-E, 3-A, etc.). For the high mobility and high M-A group (cell 1-B, for example), $N=10$; for the low mobility and low M-A group (cell 2-A), $N=17$; for the low mobility and high M-A group (cell 2-B), $N=5$. The means given in the table are coded scores which range from zero to nine.

mobility with low M-A score—Cell 1-A in Table 3); (2) the mobile status-seeker (Cell 1-B); (3) the stable non-striver (Cell 2-A); and (4) the unsuccessful status-seeker (Cell 2-B). We seek to determine whether this four-way typology is useful in illuminating leadership behavior.

The mean scores, on the three leadership measures, for these mobility types are given in Table 3. As before, the scores assigned by the different describers—board, staff, and self—are treated independently. The standard deviations of the respective means are not presented since the variance estimates derived through the analysis of variance are given in Table 4.

Inspection of the data in Table 3 suggests some intriguing differences among the cells. Two of the nine cells yield F ratios (shown in Table 4) that are significant at the .05 level of confidence or better; and a third cell—in the case of the school board's description of Consideration—contains a ratio of 3.624 which is of borderline significance (using the more conservative two-tailed test, though the mean differences are in the predicted direction).

If we examine these data, first, for what they show about the Change scores, we find that in the staff's description of the executive (Table 3, columns A-B, rows 3-4) there is

some support for the hypothesis of interaction effects. Significantly low Change scores, as predicted in our hypothesis, are found among two types of executives: (1) those who have moved a good deal and who are oriented toward status betterment (the mobile strivers, Cell 3-B); and (2) the stable non-strivers (Cell 4-A). On the other hand, the mobile non-strivers—those who have moved a good deal, but who stress intrinsic "achievement" values rather than career as such—are receptive to organizational change. But equally receptive are those whom we have called "unsuccessful strivers"—those who are oriented toward rank betterment but who have not been successful in career movement. The self-descriptions of the executive and the board descriptions are in the direction of these results, but the differences are not statistically significant.

For the self-descriptions, the only significant difference is found with the Initiating Structure scores; and here it is career mobility itself that is important. Those who have a history of job movement, regardless of mobility attitude, describe themselves as relatively low in the task control aspect of leadership. But a closer look at this matter, through the mean scores in Table 3, reveals a notable fact. If we take the staff's description of the executive's behavior as a stand-

TABLE 4. VARIANCE ANALYSES OF LEADERSHIP SCORES FOR MOBILITY ATTITUDE AND CAREER HISTORY GROUPS
(See Table 3)

Type of Description and Source of Variation	Change		Initiating Structure		Consideration	
	Mean Square	F Ratio	Mean Square	F Ratio	Mean Square	F Ratio
Board description						
Career history (Rows)	.124	.243	.113	.257	.347	.598
Mobility attitude (Columns)	.033	.065	.960	2.182	2.102	3.624
Interaction (RXC)	.431	.845	.022	.050	.012	.021
Error	.510		.440		.580	
Staff description						
Career history (Rows)	.748	1.203	.216	.437	.046	.129
Mobility attitude (Columns)	.442	.711	.665	1.341	.960	2.697
Interaction (RXC)	5.752	8.765**	.931	1.877	.044	.124
Error	.622		.496		.356	
Self description						
Career history (Rows)	.011	.013	3.572	4.801*	.023	.005
Mobility attitude (Columns)	.053	.066	1.768	2.376	.015	.003
Interaction (RXC)	.533	.669	.169	.227	.121	.288
Error	.797		.744		.420	

NOTE: This analysis of the mean differences presented in Table 3 involved unequal cell frequencies and was carried out according to the procedure described by H. M. Walker and J. Lev, *Statistical Inference*, New York: Henry Holt, 1953. In each case, there was 1 degree of freedom for each of the three major sources of variation, and 40 degrees of freedom for the error estimate.

* Significant at the .05 level of confidence (two-tailed test).

** Significant at the .01 level of confidence (two-tailed test).

ard, we find that the staff tends to agree with the self-description provided by the non-strivers (the low M-A executives, regardless of career history), but they disagree with the self-portrait of the strivers.

Thus, in Table 3, the staff ascribes a low Structure score of 3.92 (Cell 3-C) to the mobile non-strivers, and these same executives describe themselves with a comparable mean score of 3.58 (Cell 5-C). In the same way, the staff gives a high Structure score of 5.35 to the stable non-strivers (Cell 4-C) and these executives give themselves a comparably high score of 5.06 (Cell 6-C). But when we look at the strivers (in column D) we find that "distortion" rather than comparability is the rule. First, the staff reports that the mobile strivers are high in Initiating Structure (mean score, 5.70 in Cell 3-D), but these successfully mobile and upward-oriented individuals *under-estimate* their own degree of task control (mean score, 4.50 in Cell 5-D). Second, the staff assigns a fairly high Structure score to the unsuccessful strivers (mean score, 5.20 in Cell 4-D), but these mobility-minded, unsuccessfully mobile men *overestimate* their task control

(mean score, 6.80 in Cell 6-D). The same pattern of "realism" (relative to the staff's description) on the part of the non-strivers and "distortion" by the high M-A's, is carried out quite systematically in the data of Table 3. On the Consideration dimension, for example, we find that the striving executives, regardless of their job histories, tend to underestimate their degree of Consideration; whereas the low M-A group—again, regardless of their career mobility—are realists in that they closely approximate the staff's description of them.

These results provide clues that help us to understand Halpin's findings—namely, little agreement among the three groups of describers in their depiction of the executive's behavior. The disagreement in description reflects, apparently, the striver's need to underplay what others might consider his "softness" (that is, Consideration in regard to the staff). And further, with regard to Initiating Structure, the disagreement appears to reflect differential needs for the two types of strivers: the successful strivers present a portrait that minimizes their emphasis on tasks and procedures; while the

unsuccessful strivers stress their firm organizational control. In neither case does the staff agree with the striver's description of himself.

It should be emphasized that we have been dealing here with the relationship among measures that are, with the exception of the self-description data, independently derived—for example, the Change score provided by the staff as related to mobility history and attitude of the executive. Turning to the item level of the M-A scale, we explored these independent relationships somewhat further by relating the executive's responses on the 25 items of the M-A scale to the leadership scores provided by the board and staff members. Such a procedure was carried out in parallel form to the analysis in Table 3 (where total M-A scores were involved). This involved a series of two-by-two analyses of variance (for three leadership scores and 25 M-A items). It is impossible to report these results fully, but their substance is as follows:

1. For nine of the 25 M-A items, differential responses of the executive are associated with differential description of the leader by either the staff or board members.
2. Career history in itself does not, in any instance, serve as a significant discriminator of leadership style—that is, as a "main effect" in the series of two-by-two analyses involving an attitude item and career history, the latter in no case yields a significant F ratio.
3. In six instances, involving all three leadership scores, the significance lies in an interaction effect—that is, career history is relevant to leadership prediction when taken in conjunction with mobility attitude (as reflected in an item response).

These interactions follow a consistent pattern—a pattern which is illustrated in Table 5, where the data involving four attitude items are presented. As illustrations, the table shows the results obtained with two different leadership scores as the dependent variable (Change and Initiating Structure), obtained from two different sources (staff and board members). In all cases, the table speaks to the question: What differences in leadership style characterize executives who are different in their response to the given attitude item of the M-A scale and different in their career histories?

The significant interactions in Table 5 argue for the view that the consequences—in

TABLE 5. MEAN LEADERSHIP SCORES FOR EXECUTIVES CROSS-CLASSIFIED BY CAREER HISTORY AND BY RESPONSES TO FOUR ITEMS IN THE MOBILITY-ACHIEVEMENT SCALE

Item Number and Career History	Item Response		Type of Leadership Score
	Low M-A	High M-A	
Item 13			
High mobility	5.8	3.3	Change (Staff)
Low mobility	4.6	5.2	
Item 22			
High mobility	3.8	3.5	Change (Board)
Low mobility	3.0	6.4	
Item 5			
High mobility	3.4	6.1	Initiating structure (Board)
Low mobility	5.9	5.1	
Item 14			
High mobility	3.9	6.1	Initiating structure (Staff)
Low mobility	6.3	4.2	

NOTE: The four items are presented in their entirety below.

Item 13, "If you've got a worthwhile program developing in your present position, I don't think you ought to be really tempted if a bigger job comes your way."

Item 22, "It's often wise to move on after a few years in one place because you tend to come up against more and more criticism."

Item 5, "I wouldn't let my friendship ties in a community stand in the way of moving on to a higher position."

Item 14, "One thing that would keep me from moving up is the thought of the increased responsibility breathing down your neck in the top jobs."

The table is read as follows: Those executives who had a career history of high mobility and who responded to item 13 of the M-A scale in a fashion indicative of low interest in mobility (Low M-A) were assigned (by staff members) a score of 5.8 on the Change dimension of leadership.

The item distributions were broken so as to maintain a nearly equal number of cases in the high and low attitude groups for each item. The F ratios for interaction in these four two-by-two tables were, respectively, 3.99, 10.47, 7.66, and 13.03. The latter three of these are significant at the .01 level, and the first approximates the .05 level of confidence (required at the .05 level is an F of 4.08, using a two-tailed test).

In this case, the "consequences" in leadership style—of high as against low mobility depend upon whether this mobility occurs under the conditions of a status-centered or an achievement-centered motivation. In Table 5, for example, it appears that readiness to accept educational change (whether this readiness

is described by staff or board members) is significantly *low* among the mobile strivers and the stable non-strivers—in a sense, among those who are either “on the move, and out to get there” or those who are “not moving, and not interested.” In a similar way, as far as Initiating Structure is concerned, mobility in itself tells us very little (see, for example, the data on Item 14 in Table 5); but when the motivational conditions under which movement occurs is taken into account, we discover that the unsuccessful striver and the mobile non-striver are significantly low in the task-organization aspect of leadership. Though caution against over-generalization is in order, of course, there is a consistency here that holds promise.

SUMMARY

The results appear to move us somewhat closer to an understanding of the dynamics of mobility. We have sought to further the view that mobility cannot be assumed to have a singular meaning or unilateral consequences. It bears repeating that though nearly everyone, in theory, may nod agreement to this proposition, we often do not write as though we believed it. S. M. Lipset and H. L. Zetterberg,¹⁵ for example, comment:

The obvious common sense starting point for a discussion of mobility motivation is the observation that people do not like to be downwardly mobile: they prefer to keep their rank or to improve it. . . . Since any ranking is an evaluation by the society, it will be reflected in a person's self-evaluation; since any person tries to maximize his self-evaluation, he tries to maximize his rank. This would go for all the rankings we discussed earlier, that is, occupation, consumption, social and perhaps also power classes. The basic idea is that persons like to protect their class positions in order to protect their egos, and improve their class positions in order to enhance their egos.

The consequences (or correlates) of mobility are mediated by the kind of status interests that the individual brings to bear on the events that constitute his social history. In the empirical pursuit of this view, we constructed a Mobility-Achievement

scale whose purpose was to distinguish those for whom mobility interests take precedence over a wide range of more “intrinsic” interests (for example, health, family, community).

We have found that such a distinction between an orientation toward “mobility” as against “achievement” (in the sense of low priority on status concerns) is a useful one, since responses to this scale are apparently predictive of the intra-organizational behavior of the executive. Beyond that, we have found that while career history *per se* provides little clue to leadership style, it is a significant element when taken in conjunction with mobility orientation. These two considered together—history and attitude—yield a four-way typology: (1) the mobile status-seeker, (2) the unsuccessful status-seeker, (3) the mobile non-striver, and (4) the stable non-striver. The crucial point is that this typology, derived exclusively from the executive's standpoint, is related to the behavioral descriptions of him provided by the staff members and school board members.

In brief, the typology helps us to predict some quite important aspects of what leaders are called upon to do in their organizational role: their readiness to accept organizational change; their application of firm organizational controls; their responsiveness to the needs of group members. Apparently, too, this kind of approach aids in revealing the kinds of perceptual distortions of their role that characterize these types of leaders. Taken together, these results suggest that the usual “human relations” training in leadership is not enough, for what is implicated is the leader's conception of his place in society and the use that he makes of his job in realizing that place.

Obviously, however, we are dealing with a first approximation to the measurement of mobility orientations. What we have provided, in addition to the preliminary understandings outlined above, is a firmer ground for hope that the elements, or factors, involved in mobility orientations can be specified. This paper argues, both in principle and in the data, that such specification is vital if we are to avoid misleading assumptions concerning mobility and come to understand its consequences.

¹⁵ “A Theory of Social Mobility,” *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology*, Vol. II, 1956, pp. 162–163.

PATTERNS OF MOBILITY AMONG A GROUP OF FAMILIES OF COLLEGE STUDENTS *

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PURPOSE AND SOURCES

THERE are many gaps in our knowledge of migration and of mobility in the United States, despite important increases in the amount of census data on individual and family movement in the last two decades; and despite the large number of studies of mobility among selected, limited groups or in single communities which have been published in recent years.

Our own aims are limited. One purpose is to present data on the movement of selected families of college students over a 20-year period in the belief that these data suggest certain conclusions and hypotheses which may contribute to a further understanding of the extent and patterns of mobility in local communities. We do not suggest that our conclusions can presently be generalized beyond the families for whom we have information.

A second purpose is to explore the feasibility in mobility research of an historical or ex-post-facto type of longitudinal study based on the use of a questionnaire. As Cochran has recently pointed out, a current major research concern of social scientists is "to learn how to observe the same people over a period of years."¹ Longitudinal studies are attempts to do this, ordinarily by selecting a particular group (such as a class of high school graduates or a sample of couples married about the same time) and following specific activities of the members of this group over a period of time.² Such

studies obviously involve a number of problems. They are likely to be expensive and to require financing over a period of years. They face the major difficulty of maintaining the size of the original group in the face of the hard fact that people move away or die or refuse further cooperation. Continuous contact of the subjects with the project may influence the behavior or attitudes which are being studied. If interviews are infrequent, there are questions of the reliability of memory in recalling specific events and dates; and there is always, of course, the possibility that the respondents will consciously falsify their answers in an attempt to protect themselves, to fortify their egos, to give "expected answers," or for any of a variety of other reasons. Special personal qualities and administrative abilities are required of the project head, who must constantly promote lagging interest and maintain frequently delicate contacts among workers and respondents over a lengthy period of time. Noting these difficulties, Cochran concludes, "My guess would be that we now know how to observe groups for as long as three years, and perhaps for as long as five years; beyond that, there are too few successfully completed studies to be able to say that the technique has been mastered."³

In an attempt to overcome some of these research problems inherent where observation of a group is carried forward over time, this study is based on a questionnaire which

*Dr. Sidney Goldstein has kindly made a number of constructive criticisms of this paper, some of which have been incorporated in the present form. A shorter version was presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, 1957.

¹William G. Cochran, "Research Techniques in the Study of Human Beings," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 33 (April, 1955), p. 131.

²For an illustration of such a study, see J. W. B. Douglas and J. M. Blomfield, "The Reliability of Longitudinal Surveys," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 34 (July, 1956), pp. 227-252.

³*Op. cit.*, p. 132. The Douglas and Blomfield paper (*op. cit.*) is an account of one study, still incomplete, which has now been carried on for over 10 years. A sample of children born during the first week in March, 1946, in Great Britain constitutes the group under study. The authors report excellent cooperation both from public authorities and from the mothers of the subjects (p. 249). Because of the national scope of the survey, internal migration has not biased the sample although it would have if local administrative areas had been the units of study (pp. 237-242). From sample tests, the authors conclude that inaccuracies in reporting have not been frequent enough to distort the results (pp. 242-247).

requires the respondents to reconstruct prior migration events. Specifically, the study is concerned with the migration history of the families of a group of college students over a period of about 20 years, from their births.⁴ The data were obtained between 1947 and 1952 from 501 undergraduate liberal arts students in 11 colleges and universities in the eastern United States. Both coeducational colleges and those only for men or for women are represented, and public and private schools are included in about equal numbers.⁵

A questionnaire was constructed to provide both personal data and a migration history for the student and for each of his parents, from birth to the date when the questionnaires were completed.⁶ The questionnaires were administered to an entire class at one time. Each item was read and explained individually before being answered by the respondent. In addition, students were instructed not to provide any answers about which they were uncertain, and were asked instead to take the questionnaires home over one of the school holidays and to complete them with the aid of their parents. They were also requested to check an appropriate box to indicate whether their own migration histories and those for each of their parents were complete or incomplete. Less than one per cent of the returned questionnaires had to be rejected for incompleteness.

Our migration histories are a record of past events. We believe them to be a complete record⁷ of the changes of residence of the

student respondents over a period of some 20 years. By working backward from a present date, we have avoided two major hazards of the usual longitudinal study: a dwindling of the population; and the possibility that the behavior recorded could be influenced by continuing contacts. We have also avoided the problems of financing a continuing study and of securing a director with special administrative qualities. On the other hand, we have increased the likelihood of inaccuracies attributable to faulty memory by extending considerably the time period for which we ask recall. And we are unable to test the reliability of the mobility data by checking a random sample of the answers. However, unless there has been a high frequency of moves for an individual, it seems likely that he will be able to recall such major life events as places of residence and in proper sequence.

The 501 student respondents and their families for whom questionnaires were completed are not considered representative of any larger population. Nevertheless, despite some degree of individual variation, and the existence of a small number of extreme cases, they are collectively a highly homogeneous group of white, native-born, Protestant middle-income families. We believe that these 501 cases yield insights which provide important propositions for further testing.

In any event, these factors do not influence our purpose to explore the feasibility of the questionnaire as a technique in conducting ex-post-facto longitudinal studies in the area of migration and mobility.

NUMBER OF MOVES

A longitudinal study has the obvious advantage of making it possible to relate the number and type of moves of each specific family in the population surveyed. Our first consideration here is the number of moves of each family during the approximately 20 years of the student's life, that is, from about 1928-1930 to 1950-1952. Moves are defined as changes in place of permanent residence,

ents had replied "No" to the question, "Is this a complete record of your moves since birth?" were, of course, rejected. So were four which failed to display consistent responses in a series of cross-check questions.

⁴ The range was 18 to 23 years. The number of extreme cases was very low.

⁵ The colleges represented are: Brown, Boston University, City College of New York, Maine, North Carolina, Pembroke, University of Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Wesleyan (Conn.), Wheaton (Mass.), and Yale. The respondents were all enrolled in introductory social science classes. Appreciation is expressed to staff members in these colleges who generously cooperated in administering the questionnaires.

⁶ Extensive analysis of the relationship between (1) number and distance of moves (in various patterns) and (2) such personal data as type of community at birth, size of mother's completed family, father's occupation, and family income revealed no statistically significant differences. The families reported on are apparently too homogeneous a group. The data presented here therefore concern only the migration histories.

⁷ The five questionnaires on which the respond-

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF PARENTAL FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF MOVES MADE DURING LIFE OF STUDENT RESPONDENTS *

(1) Number of Moves	(2) Distribution of Families	(3) Cumulative Percentage of Families	(4) Total Number of Moves	(5) Cumulative Percentage of Moves	(6) Cumulative Number of Moves
0	153	31.1	0	0	0
1	124	56.3	124	13.8	124
2	70	70.5	140	29.5	264
3	57	82.1	171	48.5	435
4	48	92.0	192	70.0	627
5	16	95.1	80	78.9	707
6	7	96.5	42	83.6	749
7	6	97.8	42	88.3	791
8	5	98.8	40	92.7	831
9	2	99.2	18	94.8	849
10	2	99.6	20	97.0	869
13	1	99.8	13	98.4	882
14	1	100.0	14	100.0	896
Total	492	—	896	—	—

*The source of this table and of the tables presented below consists of data collected by the authors.

and all such moves, whether across the continent or to the next block, are included.

Table 1 shows the distribution of the parental families according to the total number of moves completed during the lifetime of the student. The mean number of moves over this roughly 20-year period is 1.8. However, of the 492 families reporting,⁸ 153, or 31 per cent, did not move at all and an additional 124 families, or 25 per cent, moved only once. At the other extreme 11 families, or just over 2 per cent, moved 8 or more times. Columns 3 and 6 reveal that the least mobile 70 per cent of the families made only 30 per cent of the moves.⁹ If all families making two or more moves are grouped, then this 44 per cent of all families accounts for 86 per cent of all moves. The two most mobile families (only .04 per cent of the total families) made 3 per cent of all moves.¹⁰

⁸ In editing, nine schedules were rejected for incompleteness.

⁹ "Least mobile families" here include those who made no moves. These 153 families are 31 per cent of all families but their "moves" are zero per cent of all moves. Only 30 per cent of the moves were made by the least mobile 57 per cent of the families moving, that is those making one or two moves and excluding the nonmovers.

¹⁰ Goldstein, in his studies of Norristown, Pennsylvania, has called attention to the existence of a relatively mobile fraction of the population "who tend to make repeated moves from one place of residence to another" and whom he designates as

Two hypotheses can be suggested to account for the low mean number of moves of these families during the 20-year period covered. The first is that these families are representative of a relatively well-established group¹¹ which displays less spatial mobility than that indicated by migration rates for more heterogeneous populations. The other is that there is a pattern of movement in the lifetime migration history which is not revealed by an examination of the 20-year segment selected.

nomads. He concludes: "... the large volume of movement which has been shown to characterize the American population may be attributable in large measure to the repeated movements of a small number of persons rather than to the single moves of a larger proportion of the population." Sidney Goldstein, "Repeated Migration as a Factor in High Mobility Rates," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (October, 1954), pp. 536-541.

¹¹ Various studies have indicated that the chances of an individual attending college increase as family income rises. See, for example, Elbridge Sibley, "Some Demographic Clues to Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, 7 (June, 1942), pp. 322-330; Raymond A. Mulligan, "Socio-Economic Background and College Behavior," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (April, 1951), pp. 188-196; and W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated? The Challenge of Unequal Opportunities*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944. We infer that fixity of residence is positively associated with relatively high income although there are clearly numerous exceptions.

In connection with the second hypothesis we know that recently formed families with husband and wife in the younger age groups display relatively high mobility rates when compared with families with teen-age children. Similarly, it appears that families with lower average incomes than those reported here, with higher proportions of fathers holding blue-collar and clerical jobs rather than managerial and professional positions, and with a larger proportion of renters compared to home-owners show a greater mean number of changes of residence. Some or all of these attributes, that is, those associated with higher mobility rates, characterized our families prior to or in the first few years after the births of our student respondents, but these have not generally persisted far into the period studied.¹²

In order to test the second of our two hypotheses further, the total number of moves of the father of each respondent was tabulated. These 492 fathers averaged 2.1 moves prior to the birth of the respondents as compared with 1.8 moves during the subsequent 20 years. Thus, over an approximate span of 45 years since their own births, the fathers averaged 3.9 moves. We are aware of no directly comparable published data, including a lifetime series of moves. But the general assumption seems to be that of a higher rate of mobility than that displayed by our families or even by our fathers over the portion of their lifetimes up to the date of completion of the questionnaires.

As a further check on the assumption that a pattern of movement exists, the length of time since the family of each respondent last moved was tabulated. The resultant distribution is presented in Table 2. Only 18 per cent of the families made any move in the most recent five years, and only 40 per cent in the latest ten years. Nearly half (48 per cent of the 431 families reporting) did not move once in the latest 15 years, and nearly one-fourth (23 per cent) had not moved in 20 years. A large proportion of the recorded movement is seen to occur in the early stages of the family cycle, that is,

¹² Of course, mobility may again increase in later years when change of residence is part of the adjustment to retirement or to the decreased size of the family following departure of the children.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF PARENTAL FAMILIES BY LENGTH OF TIME SINCE MOST RECENT MOVE

Number of Years Since Last Move	Number of Families Reporting *	Per Cent of Families Reporting
0-4	78	18.1
5-9	94	21.8
10-14	53	12.3
15-19	108	25.1
20 or more	98	22.7
Total	431	100.0

* Information on this item not available for an additional 61 families in our series.

in the period before birth of the respondent or when he was of pre-school age.¹³ Expressed differently, our data point to the relative stability of the middle years of the family cycle so far as place of residence is concerned. It may be inferred that this stability reflects the establishment of the family both in the community and on the economic ladder.

TYPES OF MOVES

The role of migration in redistributing population between and within nations and regions has received considerable study.¹⁴ By contrast, changes of residence within local communities are less fully explored.¹⁵

¹³ In a study of over 900 households in Philadelphia, Rossi found that "Mobility is greatest in the period when families are experiencing greatest growth. Most of the moves made by a family take place within a decade after its formation." Peter H. Rossi, *Why Families Move*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955, p. 9. See also p. 178.

¹⁴ For example, Frank G. Boudreau and Clyde V. Kiser, editors, *Postwar Problems of Migration*, New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1947; Dudley Kirk, *Europe's Population in the Interwar Years*, Geneva: League of Nations, 1946, chapters 5-8; and Rupert B. Vance, *All These People*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945, chapters 9-10.

¹⁵ For an important general study, which contains an annotated bibliography of related studies through 1950, see Rossi, *op. cit.* A main focus of a number of studies has been on moves to the fringe areas of cities and the reasons for these; examples are Richard S. Dewey, *Residential Development in the Unincorporated Areas of Milwaukee County*, Milwaukee: Milwaukee County Regional Planning Department, 1946; and Walter T. Martin, *The Rural-Urban Fringe: A Study of Adjustment to Residence Location*, Eugene: The University of Oregon Press, 1953.

TABLE 3. NUMBER OF PARENTAL FAMILIES BY MOBILITY EXPERIENCE AND NUMBER OF MOVES DURING LIFETIME OF STUDENT RESPONDENT

Number of Moves	Non-Movers (Families)	Local Movers Only			Distance Movers Only			Distance and Local Movers *		
		Families	Per Cent of All Such Movers	Total Moves Made	Families	Per Cent of All Such Movers	Total Moves Made	Families	Per Cent of All Such Movers	Total Moves Made
0	153	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	—	87	41.6	87	37	52.7	37	37	28.5	37
2	—	45	21.5	90	14	20.0	28	25	19.2	50
3	—	37	17.7	111	7	10.0	21	20	15.4	60
4	—	23	11.0	92	5	7.1	20	25	19.2	100
5	—	10	4.8	50	1	1.4	5	6	4.6	30
6	—	5	2.4	30	3	4.3	18	2	1.5	12
7	—	2	1.0	14	2	2.8	14	4	3.1	28
8	—	—	—	—	1	1.4	8	5	3.8	40
9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1.5	18
10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1.5	20
11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.8	13
14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.8	14
Total	153	209	100.0	474	70	100.0	151	130	100.0	422

* Families in this category have made at least one move across a county line. Where more than one move has been made, the additional moves have been either local or distance moves without regard to sequence. Single moves (line 2) are all distance moves.

Our data permit us to distinguish distance moves from local moves. We have defined distance moves as those across a county line and local moves as those within a county. This classification minimizes the number of moves which are, in reality, local since some moves within Standard Metropolitan Areas or within a radius of a few miles of an earlier dwelling will involve a change in county.

Table 3 presents the distribution of non-movers, local movers, and distance movers among our families. Nonmovers here are those who have never moved during the lifetime of the student respondents, that is, in some 20 years. Local movers are those who have not moved outside the county during the same period. Residually, distance movers are those who have made at least one move across a county line.

Table 3 shows that 153 families were non-movers. Another 209 families (with a total of 474 moves) remained in the same county. An additional 70 families (who account for 151 moves) made only distance moves. At least one move across a county line was made by a final group of 130 families (with a total of 422 distance and local moves). The mean number of moves of the local movers in the 20-year period is thus 2.3 and that of families making only distance moves is 2.2. By comparison, the mean for families making both distance and local moves is 3.2.

Further insight into the pattern of movement within the local community is gained by a breakdown of the total moves of those 130 families with one or more distance moves. These families made 422 moves; and of these, 292 were distance moves, that is, changes of residence across a county line. The remaining 130 moves were local ones, 100 within a community of in-migration and following the initial distance move, and 30 interspersed with distance moves. The addition of these 130 local moves to the 474 similar moves made by families who never left their original communities of residence gives a total of 604 local moves. Comparison of these figures shows, for these families, that migration into another county of residence is responsible for 43 per cent of all movement and local changes of residence account for 57 per cent. In other words, local shifts of dwelling account for a significantly greater part of all community movement than does

TABLE 4. PATTERN OF RESIDENCE OF FAMILIES WITH ONLY LOCAL MOVES DURING 20-YEAR LIFE OF STUDENT RESPONDENTS

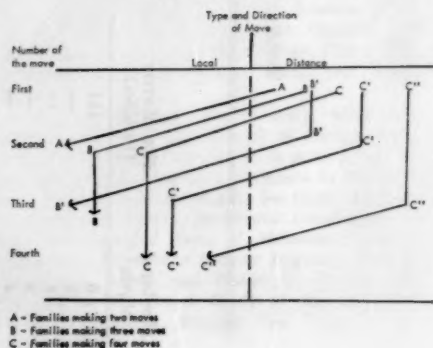
Move Number	Number of Families Making Local Move	Total Number of Families Remaining at Each Move
0	153	362
1	87	209
2	45	122
3	37	77
4	23	40
5	10	17
6	5	7
7	2	2

in-migration. These limited data suggest the hypothesis that when a family undertakes one or more distance moves, the last distance move will be followed by a final local move.

Table 4 shows the pattern of residence for those 362 families who lived in the same county over the 20-year life of the student respondents. By definition, the 209 changes of residence are all local moves. The number of families declines with each increase in the total number of moves. One-hundred-and-fifty-three families had already made their "final" move before the birth of the respondent. Eighty-seven families made one additional move, 45 made two additional moves, and so on down to two families who made seven additional moves.

Figure 1 illustrates a second pattern of movement found among the 52 families diagrammed who combined distance moves with

FIGURE 1. PATTERN OF MOVES OF FAMILIES WITH A SEQUENCE OF DISTANCE MOVES AND LOCAL MOVES OVER 20-YEAR LIFETIME OF STUDENT RESPONDENT



local moves. A ← — — — A represents nine families who made two moves in the 20-year period, the first a distance move and the second a local move. Similarly, B ← — — — B indicates a group of families with a total of three moves each. There are two alternative patterns possible within this group. The eight families who made an initial distance move followed by two local moves are represented by B ← — — — B. The five families who made two distance moves followed by one local move are indicated by B' ← — — — B'. The variations on C ← — — — C indicate the increasingly complex combination of possibilities for families joining one or more distance moves and one or more local moves for a total of four moves. (To preserve clarity, we have not attempted to include here the families who made more than four moves.¹⁶) It should be noted that in Figure 1, the final move is always a local move. This theoretical patterning is actually true for somewhat over 90 per cent of all families having any distance move, but it does not describe a few families in the category of local moves interspersed with distance moves.

There is a final category of families who have made only distance moves. Their distribution by number of moves completed is presented in Table 3. If our hypothesis that last moves are local moves is correct, these 70 families have not completed their sequence of moves since they have not yet made a local change of residence. However, we recognize as limitations to our hypothesis, first, that for some families the original distance move into the community represents in fact a "final" move, and, second, that some families with fathers in occupational categories such as construction worker, soldier, and minister (in certain denominations) will continue to make distance moves exclusively over the working life of the family wage earner. The 12 families who have made four or more distance moves fall largely into these nomadic occupational classifications. On the other hand, the 37 families with one distance move and no local move undoubtedly include a number who were able to secure a house and location

compatible with their social and economic positions and suited to their tastes and family size at the time of their original migration into the community. They also include 14 families who have lived less than five years at their present address and who are therefore especially likely to move again.

REASONS FOR MOVES

So far we have dealt only with the distribution of moves of families in terms of numbers and patterns. Fortunately, the longitudinal type of study permits us to relate each category of moves to the reasons for moving.

The questionnaire asked each respondent to indicate the reason or reasons for each change of residence by making a short statement in his own words. In editing, these replies were divided into four categories of reasons for moving: economic, status, non-status, and dissatisfactions. The first two categories represent positive incentives to change place of residence. They include all those answers where the respondent indicated a move had been made to allow a parent to take a better-paying job or to be in what he recognized as a better house or neighborhood or one likely to serve as an overt index of higher status.¹⁷ The category of non-status reasons is a neutral one and includes those causes which are related neither to anticipated family nor individual improvement in status nor which are a response to dissatisfaction with a previous house or neighborhood. Examples of non-status reasons are moves because of poor health, in order to join relatives or friends, or because property was condemned to build a highway or airport. The category of dis-

¹⁶ For the same reason we have excluded those few cases where the first move is local and where a distance move follows.

¹⁷ "Better" houses or neighborhoods are those which were defined by the respondents in terms indicating an awareness that they involved status improvement. Respondents used such phrases as "moving to a neighborhood with nicer people," "moving to the best part of town," and "getting a place that we could be proud to entertain our friends in." A few statements, such as "getting a nicer house now that we could afford to when my father's salary went up," may overlap in part with the category of dissatisfactions. All answers which indicate a move based on a concrete dislike of some aspect of a specific house or neighborhood were placed in the latter category in an attempt to differentiate status and non-status moves.

TABLE 5. MOVES BY PARENTAL FAMILIES DURING 20-YEAR LIFE OF STUDENT RESPONDENTS BY CATEGORIES OF REASONS

Type of Reason Given for Move	Type of Move			
	Local		Distance	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Economic	3	*	399	90.0
Status	545	90.0	14	3.0
Non-status	19	3.0	15	3.5
Dissatisfaction	37	6.0	15	3.5
All types	604	99.9	443	100.0

* Less than one per cent.

satisfaction is composed of "negative" reasons for moving involving dislike of some aspect of the house or neighborhood, for example, noisy neighbors, leaky plumbing, an outgrown house, "excessive" taxes, or a poor school system. More than one reason for moving, and reasons from more than one category, were given in some cases. Most moves could nevertheless be classified in a single category.¹⁸

Table 5 presents the relationship between type of move and reason for that move. Giving further support to a long-established theory of the primacy of economic factors among the causes of migration,¹⁹ approximately 90 per cent of the reasons given for distance moves were classed as economic—largely to seek or to accept job advancement. In many cases an advance in economic position can clearly be expected to yield an improved social status, and the members of our middle-income group can be assumed to have been aware of this connection. Nevertheless, status reasons for distance moves were given in less than 3 per cent of the responses. The remaining 7 per cent of the reasons were about equally divided between the non-status and dissatisfaction categories.

¹⁸ For reasons given in other studies for moves to suburban or fringe areas from a central city, see Dewey, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-25; Earl L. Koos and Edmund de S. Brunner, *Suburbanization in Webster, New York*, Rochester: Department of Sociology, University of Rochester, 1945, p. 35; Martin, *op. cit.*; and Rossi, *op. cit.*, especially section IV.

¹⁹ See, e.g., Warren S. Thompson, *Population Problems*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953, Fourth Edition, pp. 274-275. For a more sophisticated statement of the place of economic factors in the complex of causes of migration, see Kirk, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-156.

For the local moves a very different picture emerges. Ninety per cent of the explanations of such moves were categorized as status reasons.²⁰ The specific responses indicate that increases in family income made many of these moves possible. The decision to move, however, was based not on seeking additional income gains but on the prior existence of such increases. These were moves to a "better" house, to a "better" street, to a "more desirable" neighborhood or local community. Some were to join new co-workers and others of similar position following advancement on the job. Just under 10 per cent of the local moves were attributable to economic factors (less than 1 per cent), non-status factors (3 per cent), or dissatisfaction (6 per cent).²¹

²⁰ Our families were, on the average, in the middle ranks in terms of American family income and job status. Furthermore, they were almost all upwardly mobile as shown by questions on occupation and income at the time of birth of the student respondent and at the time the questionnaire was completed, some 20 years later. Family size, and presumably expenses, were increasing. We would expect such a group to exhibit a maximum of status moves. An unpublished study of labor mobility in a Rhode Island textile city indicates that, among lower-income mill workers, the principal cause for local moves is dissatisfaction with particular dwellings. Among the Philadelphia families studied by Rossi (*op. cit.*, summarized in Chapter 11), it was found that changes of residence were closely tied to changes in family composition at different stages of the life cycle, producing dissatisfaction with the dwelling unit itself (especially in terms of the living space available) or with the neighborhood ("social environment").

²¹ Rossi cites dissatisfactions with residence or neighborhood as of much more importance in moving than our data suggest. (*Ibid.*, Chapters 8 and 11). However, our category of dissatisfaction appears to be considerably narrower than that em-

Thus, we reach a second proposition for further testing: if a family make N local moves, the N th move will be a status one. We recognize that this proposition, by use of an adequate sample, would probably be shown to apply to subgroups in the American population rather than to the total population. Actually, for families similar to those reported here, the proposition might be stated: if a family makes N local moves, all N moves will be status ones. For our families this would hold true in 90 per cent of all cases.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The representativeness of our families of a larger universe cannot be established and, therefore, generalizations applying to other groups are obviously ruled out. We nevertheless have identified these families as a rather homogeneous group in several respects: white, preponderantly Protestant, middle-income, with parents largely between 40 and 50 years of age, and almost wholly urban in residence.²² All, of course, had sons or daughters in college.

Apparently, we do not have well-differentiated groups in our family series, but rather a core of relatively stable families as measured by the low average rate of change of residence. They have contributed only modestly to the relatively high migration rates which have characterized the United States in recent decades.²³ The average of

played by Rossi; his overlaps in part with our status-moves.

²² Actually, 78 per cent lived in places defined by the 1950 census as within Standard Metropolitan Areas.

²³ Based on its monthly population sample survey, the Bureau of the Census estimates that between April 1956 and April 1957, 10,268,000 persons 1 year or older (or 6.2 per cent of the population) changed county of residence, and that 21,566,000 (or 13.1 per cent) moved to a different dwelling within the same county. (Bureau of the Census, "Mobility of the Population of the United States, April 1956 to April 1957," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 61, October 1957, p. 8). Earlier, and coinciding in part with the years covered by this study, the Bureau found a change in residence across a county line between 1940 and 1947 by 21 per cent of the population. (Bureau of the Census, "Internal Migration in the United States, April 1940 to April 1947," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 14, April 1948, p. 1). Such data, of course, give no indication of additional moves within the periods of time indicated.

the entire group is less than one move per family in each decade of the 20-year period studied. One-third did not move at all and an additional one-fourth moved only once in the 20 years. These are families which may be presumed to promote the stability of local social organization and the continuity of traditions and values of the communities in which they settle.²⁴ Among our families, the 200 who made both distance and local moves have contributed disproportionately to the horizontal mobility of the community. Although the mean number of moves of the 70 families who made only distance moves is 2.2 as contrasted with a mean of 2.3 moves for solely local movers, the distance movers, because of their continuing in- and out-migration, may be presumed to have had minimal ties with their succeeding communities, and collectively to have been least well integrated in terms of local affairs.²⁵

As we have seen, local moves among our families account for more than half (57 per cent) of all moves. If the histories of the 153 families who made no moves in the 20-year period are carried back for an additional 15 years, the percentage of local moves is increased to nearly two-thirds. Local moves are undertaken largely for status reasons. Status moves appear to follow the achievement of the economic goals which prompted distance moves. Thus, we hypothesize that when a family migrates to a community, and subsequently remains in that community, the initial distance move will be followed by one or more local moves. For our families, this "milling around" in response to changed economic position and wants accounts for the major part of all mobility involving the local community.²⁶ For the individual family, mobility is greatest in the early part of the cycle, before children are born or when they are young. There is a definite pattern of movement among the families studied.

Finally, we conclude that the questionnaire method is a feasible technique for ex-post-facto longitudinal studies of migration.

²⁴ Goldstein, *op. cit.*, p. 540.

²⁵ To some extent, because of their office, ministers are an exception.

²⁶ This process applies as well to many families originating in the local community who improve their economic position.

The kinds of data it can provide are limited, of course, to those which represent objective events and which are subject to recall with a reasonable degree of accuracy. The validity of our results has probably been increased by our ability to achieve a nearly complete set of returns from a group with a rather low rate of residential movement. The questionnaire technique does not provide the kind of familiarity with a situation

over a period of time which probably increases the soundness of interpretation of data and permits a greater wealth of detail. On the other hand, in view of the problems involved in longitudinal studies, especially the difficulty of maintaining contact with a group of persons whose dispersion is being studied, more detailed inquiry into migration histories by use of a questionnaire appears to be warranted.

PROBLEMS OF INFERENCE AND PROOF IN PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION *

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THE participant observer gathers data by participating in the daily life of the group or organization he studies.¹ He watches the people he is studying to see what situations they ordinarily meet and how they behave in them. He enters into conversation with some or all of the participants in these situations and discovers their

interpretations of the events he has observed.

Let me describe, as one specific instance of observational technique, what my colleagues and I have done in studying a medical school. We went to lectures with students taking their first two years of basic science and frequented the laboratories in which they spend most of their time, watching them and engaging in casual conversation as they dissected cadavers or examined pathology specimens. We followed these students to their fraternity houses and sat around while they discussed their school experiences. We accompanied students in the clinical years on rounds with attending physicians, watched them examine patients on the wards and in the clinics, sat in on discussion groups and oral exams. We ate with the students and took night call with them. We pursued internes and residents through their crowded schedules of teaching and medical work. We stayed with one small group of students on each service for periods ranging from a week to two months, spending many full days with them. The observational situations allowed time for conversation and we took advantage of this to interview students about things that had happened and were about to happen, and about their own backgrounds and aspirations.

Sociologists usually use this method when they are especially interested in understanding a particular organization or substantive problem rather than demonstrating relations

* This paper developed out of problems of analysis arising in a study of a state medical school. The study is sponsored by Community Studies, Inc., of Kansas City, Missouri. It is directed by Everett C. Hughes; Anselm Strauss is also a member of the research team. Most of the material presented here has been worked out with the help of Blanche Geer, who has been my partner in field work and analysis in this study. I am grateful to Alvin W. Gouldner for a thorough critique of an earlier draft.

Substantive papers on the study, whose findings are made use of throughout, include: Howard S. Becker and Blanche Geer, "The Fate of Idealism in Medical School," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (February, 1958), pp. 50-56, and "Student Culture in Medical School," *Harvard Educational Review*, 28 (Winter, 1958), pp. 70-80. Another paper on participant observation by the same authors is "Participant Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison," *Human Organization*, 16 (Fall, 1957), pp. 28-32.

¹ There is little agreement on the specific referent of the term *participant observation*. See Raymond L. Gold, "Roles in Sociological Field Observations," *Social Forces*, 36 (March, 1958), pp. 217-223, for a useful classification of the various procedures that go by this name. Our own research, from which we have drawn our illustrations, falls under Gold's type, "participant-as-observer." The basic methods discussed here, however, would appear to be similar in other kinds of field situations.

between abstractly defined variables. They attempt to make their research theoretically meaningful, but they assume that they do not know enough about the organization *a priori* to identify relevant problems and hypotheses and that they must discover these in the course of the research. Though participant observation can be used to test *a priori* hypotheses, and therefore need not be as unstructured as the example I have given above, this is typically not the case. My discussion refers to the kind of participant observation study which seeks to discover hypotheses as well as to test them.

Observational research produces an immense amount of detailed description; our files contain approximately five thousand single-spaced pages of such material. Faced with such a quantity of "rich" but varied data, the researcher faces the problem of how to analyze it systematically and then to present his conclusions so as to convince other scientists of their validity. Participant observation (indeed, qualitative analysis generally) has not done well with this problem, and the full weight of evidence for conclusions and the processes by which they were reached are usually not presented, so that the reader finds it difficult to make his own assessment of them and must rely on his faith in the researcher.

In what follows I try to pull out and describe the basic analytic operations carried on in participant observation, for three reasons: to make these operations clear to those unfamiliar with the method; by attempting a more explicit and systematic description, to aid those working with the method in organizing their own research; and, most importantly, in order to propose some changes in analytic procedures and particularly in reporting results which will make the processes by which conclusions are reached and substantiated more accessible to the reader.

The first thing we note about participant observation research is that analysis is carried on sequentially,² important parts of the

analysis being made while the researcher is still gathering his data. This has two obvious consequences: further data gathering takes its direction from provisional analyses; and the amount and kind of provisional analysis carried on is limited by the exigencies of the field work situation, so that final comprehensive analyses may not be possible until the field work is completed.

We can distinguish three distinct stages of analysis conducted in the field itself, and a fourth stage, carried on after completion of the field work. These stages are differentiated, first, by their logical sequence: each succeeding stage depends on some analysis in the preceding stage. They are further differentiated by the fact that different kinds of conclusions are arrived at in each stage and that these conclusions are put to different uses in the continuing research. Finally, they are differentiated by the different criteria that are used to assess evidence and to reach conclusions in each stage. The three stages of field analysis are: the selection and definition of problems, concepts, and indices; the check on the frequency and distribution of phenomena; and the incorporation of individual findings into a model of the organization under study.³ The fourth stage of final analysis involves problems of presentation of evidence and proof.

SELECTION AND DEFINITION OF PROBLEMS, CONCEPTS, AND INDICES

In this stage, the observer looks for problems and concepts that give promise of yielding the greatest understanding of the organization he is studying, and for items which may serve as useful indicators of facts which are harder to observe. The typical conclusion that his data yield is the simple one that a given phenomenon exists, that a certain event occurred once, or that two phenomena were observed to be related in one instance; the conclusion says nothing about the frequency or distribution of the observed phenomenon.

By placing such an observation in the con-

² In this respect, the analytic methods I discuss bear a family resemblance to the technique of *analytic induction*. Cf. Alfred Lindesmith, *Opiate Addiction* (Bloomington: Principia Press, 1947), especially pp. 5-20, and the subsequent literature cited in Ralph H. Turner, "The Quest for Universals in Sociological Research," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (December, 1953), pp. 604-611.

³ My discussion of these stages is abstract and simplified and does not attempt to deal with practical and technical problems of participant observation study. The reader should keep in mind that in practice the research will involve all these operations simultaneously with reference to different particular problems.

text of a sociological theory, the observer selects concepts and defines problems for further investigation. He constructs a theoretical model to account for that one case, intending to refine it in the light of subsequent findings. For instance, he might find the following: "Medical student X referred to one of his patients as a 'crock' today."⁴ He may then connect this finding with a sociological theory suggesting that occupants of one social category in an institution classify members of other categories by criteria derived from the kinds of problems these other persons raise in the relationship. This combination of observed fact and theory directs him to look for the problems in student-patient interaction indicated by the term "crock." By discovering specifically what students have in mind in using the term, through questioning and continued observation, he may develop specific hypotheses about the nature of these interactional problems.

Conclusions about a single event also lead the observer to decide on specific items which might be used as indicators⁵ of less easily observed phenomena. Noting that in at least one instance a given item is closely related to something less easily observable, the researcher discovers possible shortcuts easily enabling him to observe abstractly defined variables. For example, he may decide to investigate the hypothesis that medical freshmen feel they have more work to do than can possibly be managed in the time allowed them. One student, in discussing this problem, says he faces so much work that, in contrast to his undergraduate days, he is forced to study many hours over the week-

end and finds that even this is insufficient. The observer decides, on the basis of this one instance, that he may be able to use complaints about weekend work as an indicator of student perspectives on the amount of work they have to do. The selection of indicators for more abstract variables occurs in two ways: the observer may become aware of some very specific phenomenon first and later see that it may be used as an indicator of some larger class of phenomena; or he may have the larger problem in mind and search for specific indicators to use in studying it.

Whether he is defining problems or selecting concepts and indicators, the researcher at this stage is using his data only to speculate about possibilities. Further operations at later stages may force him to discard most of the provisional hypotheses. Nevertheless, problems of evidence arise even at this point, for the researcher must assess the individual items on which his speculations are based in order not to waste time tracking down false leads. We shall eventually need a systematic statement of canons to be applied to individual items of evidence. Lacking such a statement, let us consider some commonly used tests. (The observer typically applies these tests as seems reasonable to him during this and the succeeding stage in the field. In the final stage, they are used more systematically in an overall assessment of the total evidence for a given conclusion.)

The Credibility of Informants. Many items of evidence consist of statements by members of the group under study about some event which has occurred or is in process. Thus, medical students make statements about faculty behavior which form part of the basis for conclusions about faculty-student relations. These cannot be taken at face value; nor can they be dismissed as valueless. In the first place, the observer can use the statement as evidence *about the event*, if he takes care to evaluate it by the criteria an historian uses in examining a personal document.⁶ Does the informant have reason to lie or conceal some

⁴ The examples of which our hypothetical observer makes use are drawn from our own current work with medical students.

⁵ The problem of indicators is discussed by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Allen Barton, "Qualitative Measurement in the Social Sciences: Classification, Typologies, and Indices," in Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell, editors, *The Policy Sciences: Recent Developments in Scope and Method*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951, pp. 155-192; "Some Functions of Qualitative Analysis in Sociological Research," *Sociologica*, 1 (1955), pp. 324-361 (this important paper parallels the present discussion in many places); and Patricia L. Kendall and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Problems of Survey Analysis," in R. K. Merton and P. F. Lazarsfeld, editors, *Continuities in Social Research*, Glencoe: Free Press, 1950, pp. 183-186.

⁶ Cf. Louis Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhohn, and Robert Angell, *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology, and Sociology*, New York: Social Science Research Council, 1945, pp. 15-27, 38-47.

of what he sees as the truth? Does vanity or expediency lead him to mis-state his own role in an event or his attitude toward it? Did he actually have an opportunity to witness the occurrence he describes or is hearsay the source of his knowledge? Do his feelings about the issues or persons under discussion lead him to alter his story in some way?

Secondly, even when a statement examined in this way proves to be seriously defective as an accurate report of an event, it may still provide useful evidence for a different kind of conclusion. Accepting the sociological proposition that an individual's statements and descriptions of events are made from a perspective which is a function of his position in the group, the observer can interpret such statements and descriptions as indications of the individual's perspective on the point involved.

Volunteered or Directed Statements. Many items of evidence consist of informants' remarks to the observer about themselves or others or about something which has happened to them; these statements range from those which are a part of the running casual conversation of the group to those arising in a long intimate *tete-a-tete* between observer and informant. The researcher assesses the evidential value of such statements quite differently, depending on whether they have been made independently of the observer (volunteered) or have been directed by a question from the observer. A freshman medical student might remark to the observer or to another student that he has more material to study than he has time to master; or the observer might ask, "Do you think you are being given more work than you can handle?", and receive an affirmative answer.

This raises an important question: to what degree is the informant's statement the same one he might give, either spontaneously or in answer to a question, in the absence of the observer? The volunteered statement seems likely to reflect the observer's preoccupations and possible biases less than one which is made in response to some action of the observer, for the observer's very question may direct the informant into giving an answer which might never occur to him otherwise. Thus, in the example

above, we are more sure that the students are concerned about the amount of work given them when they mention this of their own accord than we are when the idea may have been stimulated by the observer asking the question.

The Observer-Informant-Group Equation.

Let us take two extremes to set the problem. A person may say or do something when alone with the observer or when other members of the group are also present. The evidential value of an observation of this behavior depends on the observer's judgment as to whether the behavior is equally likely to occur in both situations. On the one hand, an informant may say and do things when alone with the observer that accurately reflect his perspective but which would be inhibited by the presence of the group. On the other hand, the presence of others may call forth behavior which reveals more accurately the person's perspective but would not be enacted in the presence of the observer alone. Thus, students in their clinical years may express deeply "idealistic" sentiments about medicine when alone with the observer, but behave and talk in a very "cynical" way when surrounded by fellow students. An alternative to judging one or the other of these situations as more reliable is to view each datum as valuable in itself, but with respect to different conclusions. In the example above, we might conclude that students have "idealistic" sentiments but that group norms may not sanction their expression.⁷

In assessing the value of items of evidence, we must also take into account the observer's role in the group. For the way the subjects of his study define that role affects what they will tell him or let him see. If the observer carries on his research incognito, participating as a full-fledged member of the group, he will be privy to knowledge that would normally be shared by such a member and might be hidden from an outsider. He could properly interpret his own experience as that of a hypothetical "typical" group member. On the other hand, if he is known to be a researcher, he must learn how group members define him and in particular whether or not they believe that certain

⁷ See further, Howard S. Becker, "Interviewing Medical Students," *American Journal of Sociology*, 62 (September, 1956), pp. 199-201.

kinds of information and events should be kept hidden from him. He can interpret evidence more accurately when the answers to these questions are known.

CHECKING THE FREQUENCY AND DISTRIBUTION OF PHENOMENA

The observer, possessing many provisional problems, concepts, and indicators, now wishes to know which of these are worth pursuing as major foci of his study. He does this, in part, by discovering if the events that prompted their development are typical and widespread, and by seeing how these events are distributed among categories of people and organizational sub-units. He reaches conclusions that are essentially quantitative, using them to describe the organization he is studying.

Participant observations have occasionally been gathered in standardized form capable of being transformed into legitimate statistical data.⁸ But the exigencies of the field usually prevent the collection of data in such a form as to meet the assumptions of statistical tests, so that the observer deals in what have been called "quasi-statistics."⁹ His conclusions, while implicitly numerical, do not require precise quantification. For instance, he may conclude that members of freshmen medical fraternities typically sit together during lectures while other students sit in less stable smaller groupings. His observations may indicate such a wide disparity between the two groups in this respect that the inference is warranted without a standardized counting operation. Occasionally, the field situation may permit him to make similar observations or ask similar questions of many people, systematically searching for quasi-statistical support for a conclusion about frequency or distribution.

In assessing the evidence for such a conclusion the observer takes a cue from his statistical colleagues. Instead of arguing that a conclusion is either totally true or false, he decides, if possible, how likely it

is that his conclusion about the frequency or distribution of some phenomenon is an accurate quasi-statistic, just as the statistician decides, on the basis of the varying values of a correlation coefficient or a significance figure, that his conclusion is more or less likely to be accurate. The kind of evidence may vary considerably and the degree of the observer's confidence in the conclusion will vary accordingly. In arriving at this assessment, he makes use of some of the criteria described above, as well as those adopted from quantitative techniques.

Suppose, for example, that the observer concludes that medical students share the perspective that their school should provide them with the clinical experience and the practice in techniques necessary for a general practitioner. His confidence in the conclusion would vary according to the nature of the evidence, which might take any of the following forms: (1) *Every member of the group said, in response to a direct question, that this was the way he looked at the matter.* (2) *Every member of the group volunteered to an observer that this was how he viewed the matter.* (3) *Some given proportion of the group's members either answered a direct question or volunteered the information that he shared this perspective, but none of the others was asked or volunteered information on the subject.* (4) *Every member of the group was asked or volunteered information, but some given proportion said they viewed the matter from the differing perspective of a prospective specialist.* (5) *No one was asked questions or volunteered information on the subject, but all members were observed to engage in behavior or to make other statements from which the analyst inferred that the general practitioner perspective was being used by them as a basic, though unstated, premise.* For example, all students might have been observed to complain that the University Hospital received too many cases of rare diseases that general practitioners rarely see. (6) *Some given proportion of the group was observed using the general practitioner perspective as a basic premise in their activities, but the rest of the group was not observed engaging in such activities.* (7) *Some proportion of the group was observed*

⁸ See Peter M. Blau, "Co-operation and Competition in a Bureaucracy," *American Journal of Sociology*, 59 (May, 1954), pp. 530-535.

⁹ See the discussion of quasi-statistics in Lazarsfeld and Barton, "Some Functions of Qualitative Analysis . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 346-348.

engaged in activities implying the general practitioner perspective while *the remainder* of the group was observed engaged in activities implying the perspective of the prospective specialist.

The researcher also takes account of the possibility that his observations may give him evidence of different kinds on the point under consideration. Just as he is more convinced if he has many items of evidence than if he has a few, so he is more convinced of a conclusion's validity if he has *many kinds* of evidence.¹⁰ For instance, he may be especially persuaded that a particular norm exists and affects group behavior if the norm is not only described by group members but also if he observes events in which the norm can be "seen" to operate—if, for example, students tell him that they are thinking of becoming general practitioners and he also observes their complaints about the lack of cases of common diseases in University Hospital.

The conclusiveness which comes from the convergence of several kinds of evidence reflects the fact that separate varieties of evidence can be reconceptualized as deductions from a basic proposition which have now been verified in the field. In the above case, the observer might have deduced the desire to have experience with cases like those the general practitioner treats from the desire to practice that style of medicine. Even though the deduction is made after the fact, confirmation of it buttresses the argument that the general practitioner perspective is a group norm.

It should be remembered that these operations, when carried out in the field, may be so interrupted because of imperatives of the field situation that they are not carried on as systematically as they might be. Where this is the case, the overall assessment can be postponed until the final stage of postfield work analysis.

CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL SYSTEM MODELS

The final stage of analysis in the field consists of incorporating individual findings into a generalized model of the social system or

organization under study or some part of that organization.¹¹ The concept of social system is a basic intellectual tool of modern sociology. The kind of participant observation discussed here is related directly to this concept, explaining particular social facts by explicit reference to their involvement in a complex of interconnected variables that the observer constructs as a theoretical model of the organization. In this final stage, the observer designs a descriptive model which best explains the data he has assembled.

The typical conclusion of this stage of the research is a statement about a set of complicated interrelations among many variables. Although some progress is being made in formalizing this operation through use of factor analysis and the relational analysis of survey data,¹² observers usually view currently available statistical techniques as inadequate to express their conceptions and find it necessary to use words. The most common kinds of conclusions at this level include:

- (1) Complex statements of the necessary and sufficient conditions for the existence of some phenomenon. The observer may conclude, for example, that medical students develop consensus about limiting the amount of work they will do because (a) they are faced with a large amount of work, (b) they engage in activities which create communication channels between all members of the class, and (c) they face immediate dangers in the form of examinations set by the faculty.
- (2) Statements that some phenomenon is an "important" or "basic" element in the organization. Such conclusions, when elaborated, usually point to the fact that this phenomenon exercises a persistent and continuing influence on diverse events. The observer might conclude that the ambition to become a

¹¹ The relation between theories based on the concept of social system and participant observation was pointed out to me by Alvin W. Gouldner. See his "Some Observations on Systematic Theory, 1945-55," in Hans L. Zetterberg, editor, *Sociology in the United States of America*, Paris: UNESCO, 1956, pp. 34-42; and "Theoretical Requirements of the Applied Social Sciences," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (February, 1957), pp. 92-102.

¹² See Alvin W. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 2 (December, 1957), pp. 281-306, and 3 (March, 1958), pp. 444-480; and James Coleman, "Relational Analysis: The Study of Social Structure with Survey Methods," mimeographed.

¹⁰ See Alvin W. Gouldner, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954, pp. 247-269.

general practitioner is "important" in the medical school under study, meaning that many particular judgments and choices are made by students in terms of this ambition and many features of the school's organization are arranged to take account of it.

(3) Statements identifying a situation as an instance of some process or phenomenon described more abstractly in sociological theory. Theories posit relations between many abstractly defined phenomena, and conclusions of this kind imply that relationships posited in generalized form hold in this particular instance. The observer, for example, may state that a cultural norm of the medical students is to express a desire to become a general practitioner; in so doing, he in effect asserts that the sociological theory about the functions of norms and the processes by which they are maintained which he holds to be true in general is true in this case.

In reaching such types of conclusions, the observer characteristically begins by constructing models of parts of the organization as he comes in contact with them, discovers concepts and problems, and the frequency and distribution of the phenomena these call to his attention. After constructing a model specifying the relationships among various elements of this part of the organization, the observer seeks greater accuracy by successively refining the model to take account of evidence which does not fit his previous formulation;¹³ by searching for negative cases (items of evidence which run counter to the relationships hypothesized in the model) which might force such revision; and by searching intensively for the interconnections *in vivo* of the various elements he has conceptualized from his data. While a provisional model may be shown to be defective by a negative instance which crops up unexpectedly in the course of the field work, the observer may infer what kinds of evidence would be likely to support or to refute his model and may make an intensive search for such evidence.¹⁴

After the observer has accumulated several partial-models of this kind, he seeks connections between them and thus begins to construct an overall model of the entire organi-

zation. An example from our study shows how this operation is carried on during the period of field work. (The reader will note, in this example, how use is made of findings typical of earlier stages of analysis.)

When we first heard medical students apply the term "crock" to patients we made an effort to learn precisely what they meant by it. We found, through interviewing students about cases both they and the observer had seen, that the term referred in a derogatory way to patients with many subjective symptoms but no discernible physical pathology. Subsequent observations indicated that this usage was a regular feature of student behavior and thus that we should attempt to incorporate this fact into our model of student-patient behavior. The derogatory character of the term suggested in particular that we investigate the reasons students disliked these patients. We found that this dislike was related to what we discovered to be the students' perspective on medical school: the view that they were in school to get experience in recognizing and treating those common diseases most likely to be encountered in general practice. "Crocks," presumably having no disease, could furnish no such experience. We were thus led to specify connections between the student-patient relationship and the student's view of the purpose of his professional education. Questions concerning the genesis of this perspective led to discoveries about the organization of the student body and communication among students, phenomena which we had been assigning to another part-model. Since "crocks" were also disliked because they gave the student no opportunity to assume medical responsibility, we were able to connect this aspect of the student-patient relationship with still another tentative model of the value system and hierarchical organization of the school, in which medical responsibility plays an important role.

Again, it should be noted that analysis of this kind is carried on in the field as time permits. Since the construction of a model is the analytic operation most closely related to the observer's techniques and interests he usually spends a great deal of time thinking about these problems. But he is usually unable to be as systematic as he would like until he reaches the final stage of analysis.

¹³ Note again the resemblance to analytic induction.

¹⁴ See Alfred Lindesmith's discussion of this principle in "Comment on W. S. Robinson's 'The Logical Structure of Analytic Induction,'" *American Sociological Review*, 17 (August, 1952), pp. 492-493.

FINAL ANALYSIS AND THE PRESENTATION
OF RESULTS

The final systematic analysis, carried on after the field work is completed, consists of rechecking and rebuilding models as carefully and with as many safeguards as the data will allow. For instance, in checking the accuracy of statements about the frequency and distribution of events, the researcher can index and arrange his material so that every item of information is accessible and taken account of in assessing the accuracy of any given conclusion. He can profit from the observation of Lazarsfeld and Barton that the "analysis of 'quasi-statistical data' can probably be made more systematic than it has been in the past, if the logical structure of quantitative research at least is kept in mind to give general warnings and directions to the qualitative observer."¹⁵

An additional criterion for the assessment of this kind of evidence is the state of the observer's conceptualization of the problem at the time the item of evidence was gathered. The observer may have his problem well worked out and be actively looking for evidence to test an hypothesis, or he may not be as yet aware of the problem. The evidential value of items in his field notes will vary accordingly, the basis of consideration being the likelihood of discovering negative cases of the proposition he eventually uses the material to establish. The best evidence may be that gathered in the most unthinking fashion, when the observer has simply recorded the item although it has no place in the system of concepts and hypotheses he is working with at the time, for there might be less bias produced by the wish to substantiate or repudiate a particular idea. On the other hand, a well-formulated hypothesis makes possible a deliberate search for negative cases, particularly when other knowledge suggests likely areas in which to look for such evidence. This kind of search requires advanced conceptualization of the problem, and evidence gathered in this way might carry greater weight for certain kinds of conclusions. Both procedures are relevant at different stages of the research.

¹⁵ "Some Functions of Qualitative Analysis . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 348.

In the post field work stage of analysis, the observer carries on the model building operation more systematically. He considers the character of his conclusions and decides on the kind of evidence that might cause their rejection, deriving further tests by deducing logical consequences and ascertaining whether or not the data support the deductions. He considers reasonable alternative hypotheses and whether or not the evidence refutes them.¹⁶ Finally, he completes the job of establishing interconnections between partial models so as to achieve an overall synthesis incorporating all conclusions.

After completing the analysis, the observer faces the knotty problem of how to present his conclusions and the evidence for them. Readers of qualitative research reports commonly and justifiably complain that they are told little or nothing about the evidence for conclusions or the operations by which the evidence has been assessed. A more adequate presentation of the data, of the research operations, and of the researcher's inferences may help to meet this problem.

But qualitative data and analytic procedures, in contrast to quantitative ones, are difficult to present adequately. Statistical data can be summarized in tables, and descriptive measures of various kinds and the methods by which they are handled can often be accurately reported in the space required to print a formula. This is so in part because the methods have been systematized so that they can be referred to in this shorthand fashion and in part because the data have been collected for a fixed, usually small, number of categories—the presentation of data need be nothing more than a report of the number of cases to be found in each category.

The data of participant observation do not lend themselves to such ready summary.

¹⁶ One method of doing this, particularly adapted to testing discrete hypotheses about change in individuals or small social units (though not in principle limited to this application), is "The Technique of Discerning," described by Mirra Komarovsky in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg, editors, *The Language of Social Research*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955, pp. 449-457. See also the careful discussion of alternative hypotheses and the use of deduced consequences as further proof in Lindesmith, *Opiate Addiction*, *passim*.

They frequently consist of many different kinds of observations which cannot be simply categorized and counted without losing some of their value as evidence—for, as we have seen, many points need to be taken into account in putting each datum to use. Yet it is clearly out of the question to publish all the evidence. Nor is it any solution, as Kluckhohn has suggested for the similar problem of presenting life history materials,¹⁷ to publish a short version and to make available the entire set of materials on microfilm or in some other inexpensive way; this ignores the problem of how to present *proof*.

In working over the material on the medical school study a possible solution to this problem, with which we are experimenting, is a description of the natural history of our conclusions, presenting the evidence as it came to the attention of the observer during the successive stages of his conceptualization of the problem. The term "natural history" implies not the presentation of every datum, but only the characteristic forms data took at each stage of the research. This involves description of the form that data took and any significant exceptions, taking account of the canons discussed above, in presenting

¹⁷ Gottschalk, Kluckhohn, and Angell, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-156.

the various statements of findings and the inferences and conclusions drawn from them. In this way, evidence is assessed as the substantive analysis is presented. The reader would be able, if this method were used, to follow the details of the analysis and to see how and on what basis any conclusion was reached. This would give the reader, as do present modes of statistical presentation, opportunity to make his own judgment as to the adequacy of the proof and the degree of confidence to be assigned the conclusion.

CONCLUSION

I have tried to describe the analytic field work characteristic of participant observation, first, in order to bring out the fact that the technique consists of something more than merely immersing oneself in data and "having insights". The discussion may also serve to stimulate those who work with this and similar techniques to attempt greater formalization and systematization of the various operations they use, in order that qualitative research may become more a "scientific" and less an "artistic" kind of endeavor. Finally, I have proposed that new modes of reporting results be introduced, so that the reader is given greater access to the data and procedures on which conclusions are based.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AS EMPLOYED IN THE STUDY OF A MILITARY TRAINING PROGRAM

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UNTIL recently the Air Force included in its research and development planning an extensive social science program. This program, itself part of a larger and more elaborate organization devoted to the Air Force's personnel and training requirements, utilized in its studies classical experimental design, polling, the interview, and, occasionally, observation and the ethno-

graphic or survey approach. There existed, however, certain aspects of the Air Force training situation which apparently could not adequately be understood through the use of these techniques. In particular, certain officers wished to gain a better notion of how basic and technical training were lived, understood, and felt by new airmen. Hence, after a year of preliminary study, a plan was

drawn up and approved for the utilization of a participant observer.¹

The general purpose of the study was to gain insight into the motivations and attitudes of personnel (in training) as reflected in both their military and social behavior. Through such insight into airmen's own views and feelings it was hoped to find leads to new ways of reducing disciplinary problems (particularly AWOL), failures in the course of training, poor performance thereafter, and non-re-enlistment. To be sure, the Air Force had already studied these problems extensively and had already done something about them. There was no sense of abject failure, but rather an earnest desire to improve programs that had much to be said in their favor. Moreover, it was believed that observation, interviews, questionnaires, and the like, had been used to the point of diminishing returns, at least until some new leads might be turned up. Participant observation was therefore adopted for a pilot study in order to identify first, problems viewed by enlistees during basic and technical training, and second, new areas for research by other methods.

To accomplish this purpose it was decided that a research officer should "enlist" as a basic trainee. He would be a fullfledged member of the group under study, his identity, mission, and role as a researcher unknown to every one (except the investigators), even to his own commanding officer. This then became one of the few cases of real participant observation.

There were literally thousands of problems to overcome, not only in deciding how the study would be conducted, but also in determining how the participant-observer would be guided in his work, the things to be looked for or recorded if observed, the form reports should take, and how the data

would be used after the study was completed. There were also less obvious difficulties arising from the mechanics involved and, of course, the problem of preparation for the role to be played by the participant-observer himself.

It was assumed that the recruit airman, having been drafted, enters the service with a structure of attitudes favorable to the service, or at least neutral to the Air Force and his place in it. There was evidence from previous research that during his service the airman's attitudes change, frequently turning against the Air Force. Thus the research problem posed was: What are the processes through which the recruit airman's attitudes toward the service and his place within it change, resulting often in behavior which is, from the organizational point of view, deviant?

The assumptions and frame of reference guiding the research were derived from general social science theory. The first guiding assumption was that membership in the American social system provides the airman with many predispositions toward non-conforming behavior in the armed forces, as well as predispositions toward conformity.² Second, we anticipated that there would be found patterns of behavior which might be called a sub-culture of the Air Force. We expected that this culture would include "unofficial" patterns different from the "official" expectations contained in the formal rules and regulations of the service, and that the recruit airman would acquire both the "unofficial" and the "official" patterns of the subculture.³ Thirdly, we expected to find an "informal" social organization in addition to the formal organization imposed by Air Force Regulations. The recruit airman would be "socialized," presumably, during his training into the "informal" as well as the "formal" structure of the service.

¹ Participant observation is defined by Florence R. Kluckhohn as "... conscious and systematic sharing, insofar as circumstances permit, in the life-activities and, on occasion, in the interests and affects of a group of persons. Its purpose is to obtain data about behavior through direct contact and in terms of specific situations in which the distortion that results from the investigator's being an outside agent is reduced to a minimum." "The Participant-Observation Technique in Small Communities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 46 (November, 1940), p. 331.

² For some of the predispositions to non-conformity, see Talcott Parsons on youth culture, *Essays in Sociological Theory*, (Revised Edition), Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954, pp. 91-93, 342-345; and Albert K. Cohen on the culture of the gang, *Delinquent Boys*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955, pp. 24-32.

³ See John J. Honigsmann, *Some Patterns of Bomb Squadron Culture*, Technical Report No. 9, Air Force Base Project, Chapel Hill, N. C., Institute for Research in Social Science, n.d.

Finally, we hypothesized that certain aspects of the "unofficial" culture and the "informal" social structure of the Air Force would tend to increase the tendencies to non-conforming behavior already present in the airman. The method of participation-observation would, we believed, be especially useful in revealing these patterns of "unofficial" culture and "informal" social structure which contribute to behavior which is, from the standpoint of the official Air Force, deviant.

PREPARATION FOR THE STUDY

The preliminary arrangements for the "enlistment" of the observer and the recording and transporting of data were well taken care of by high ranking Air Force personnel. The provost marshal of the command for which the study was undertaken worked closely with those primarily concerned in providing the needed support and information, and the Air Force's social science agency which guided the study made available a capable member of its organization, a civilian sociologist, to oversee and coordinate the research.

Once the participant-observer was in the field the reporting burden fell primarily upon three men: the observer himself, and a sociologist and anthropologist who were available at a nearby university. The sociologist, in addition to research in urban culture, had conducted field work in the Cumberland mountains and undertaken a combination of research and administration in jails and prisons of California. The anthropologist had field experience among the Havasupai Indians and in a study of a South Carolina community. These men had been members of the Air Force in earlier days, the former in World War I and the latter as a master sergeant in World War II. The participant-observer, who had not undergone basic training before, was a twenty-six year old first lieutenant with undergraduate work in psychology and a year of graduate training. At the time of the study he was assigned as a research psychologist with the Air Force's personnel and training research organization. The personal compatibility of the members of the "team" and their ability to realign their approaches to the problem were of major importance to

the successful outcome of the study. The fact that each "team member" provided a distinctive perspective on the findings improved the chances of identifying useful data and interpreting them in ways that might be of value both to social scientists and to the Air Force. However, it decreased the probability that results could be fitted easily into any closed system or established school of thought.

Extensive requirements had to be met in order to make the study possible, including "enlistment," processing, assignment, and, finally, "discharge" of the participant-observer. Since the observer was to "enlist" under an assumed name, even his "existence" had to be verified. Such problems would probably have been insuperable were it not for the cooperation of key personnel in the highly structured military establishment.

The plan agreed upon was to have the participant-observer "enlist" in a northern city, undergo his first four weeks of basic training at an Air Force Base in the South, and attend a technical training school (an over-all time of four months). During the period in which the observer was in basic training, the problem of reporting was most difficult. Every minute of the trainee's waking time being allocated, it was necessary for hours to be taken from sleeping in order to write reports. Of equal importance, the observer's contacts with his associates were limited to a few visits by the Air Force's civilian sociologist and correspondence with the other team members. As a consequence, the observer was never certain whether his reports were adequate or whether he was "getting across" what he was observing.

Once the observer arrived at his technical training base he could meet with the other two team members. During the week, the observer took whatever notes he could, consolidating them each evening. On those weekends when he was able to leave the base, he transcribed his notes onto a dictating machine. Thereafter, he would meet, usually for eight to ten hours, with the other team members. Then the three researchers would discuss the preceding report, first as to what it meant itself, then as to how it fit into the overall picture as viewed at that time. Sometimes it was found that significant patterns of behavior could be agreed

upon; at other times it was necessary to realign "team" thinking.

The team was very important to the participant-observer because it enabled him to keep the purpose of the study in sight. Aspects of the reports which were vague or which the observer mistakenly took for granted sometimes were cleared up during the weekend "conferences." At the same time, however, the conferences were difficult for the observer, because of the minor trauma experienced when he returned to the airman role.

In addition to the other team members, the provost marshal, and the Air Force's civilian sociologist, there were many individuals who contributed to the study. After the participant-observer left the South and arrived at the technical training base, he was told that an additional person had been informed of his presence and of his mission, a young chaplain who had had enlisted service in World War II and whose primary duty, in addition to ministerial responsibilities, was counseling newly arrived trainees. The chaplain contributed to the investigation not only through his familiarity with the training situation, but also by his personal interest in the problems of the observer. While the observer came to rely heavily upon the team for professional guidance whenever they met, he also depended upon the chaplain as his sole contact between meetings with the other team members.

The creation of a "new personality" for the observer was of some importance to the study. It would have been entirely possible for him to have "enlisted" and undergone training without disguising his name, age, or education. On the other hand, it appeared advantageous to provide the observer with an identity through which he might achieve a maximum of rapport with other trainees—most of whom, it was known, were under twenty years old and few of whom had any college education. Furthermore, a two-day meeting between the observer and William Foote Whyte and one of his "corner boys"⁴ emphasized the value of prior knowledge of those who were to be observed.

For nine months before the beginning of the field study itself, the observer was

coached in the ways of the adolescent subculture. A young airman was told the requirements of the study and given the job of creating a "new personality" for the observer. Dress, speech, and mannerism, as well as interests, attitudes, and general appearance were "corrected" by the observer's enthusiastic coach. On one occasion, the observer thought he had succeeded in meeting the requirements when he was told, "You look real tough, hey." But the coach quickly added, "You ain't supposed to look tough. You're supposed to look like you're *trying* to be tough, but you ain't supposed to be." So successful was the airman's tutoring that when the time for "enlistment" arrived, the recruiting sergeant (who did not know of the study) suggested that the observer not be accepted by the Air Force because by all appearances he was a juvenile delinquent. To make the observer's role further convincing, it was decided that his age would be reported as being nineteen instead of twenty-six. To accomplish this appearance, the observer underwent minor surgery and lost thirty-five pounds.

There was also the problem of providing the observer with an acceptable "cover" story. Here again, the "coach" was relied upon to suggest significant items which would help convince not only the other trainees but also the training personnel that the observer was genuine. The suggestions of the coach were painstakingly followed (even to the extent of using the name "Tom" which he said, fit the observer). The following biographical "facts" were seemingly accepted and responded to by the other trainees. "Tom" was from a lower middle class, but potentially mobile, family. As a result of an automobile accident, in which Tom was driving, his father, a laborer who had started college but encountered "bad breaks," was killed. This left Tom's mother to support him (an only child). Tom wanted to quit high school but his mother persuaded him to get his diploma and tried to induce him to go to college. During an argument over this issue, Tom left home and went to Northern City from which he enlisted in the Air Force. Again the coach's advice was convincing. During an interview in the early stages of training, an Air Force neuro-psychologist identified the observer as having

⁴ See William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.

mild anxiety over "killing" his father, and suggested that he be reclassified.

In deliberately cultivating a second self the research observer was engaged in something superficially like intelligence work or espionage. But there was a very important difference in goal for, in this case, it was a general understanding of a significant subculture, the processes of its development and transmission to new recruits, and its effect on the official training program. It was not the indictment of anybody or the immediate change of anyone's behavior. In fact, the data were so safeguarded that they could not lead to disciplinary action against any of the men under study. Neither was the objective a general indictment or defense of the Air Force. It was simply to gather a body of previously unavailable information and to interpret it in a way that might be helpful both to the military and to social scientists.

A very important aspect of preparation for the field study, was the training of the observer for the job of reporting. On the one hand, there was very little detailed material on participant-observer reporting and, on the other, the observer had had no experience in field study. The former problem was considerably resolved by the meetings with Professor Whyte,⁵ but the latter required many

"I had to balance familiarity with detachment, or else no insights would have come. There were fallow periods when I seemed to be just marking time. Whenever life flowed so smoothly that I was taking it for granted, I had to try to get outside of my participating self and struggle again to explain the things that seemed obvious." *Ibid.*, p. 357.

weeks of coordinated effort by the sociologist and anthropologist members of the team and the Air Force's civilian sociologist.

CONDUCT OF THE STUDY

As the study progressed, the observer felt that he had been well prepared for his job. Since there was a lag of only one week between the dictation of a report and discussion of it by the team, the observer could take quick advantage of comments, suggestions, and questions, all of which reassured the ob-

server and lessened his uncertainty as to the adequacy of his reporting. The Air Force's civilian sociologist sat in with the team during several of its discussions and provided information on the progress of other aspects of the study.

The first month was the most hectic for the observer. Anyone familiar with military basic training will understand the extent to which the observer and his fellow airmen were caught up in a swirl of regimented activity. Whereas the observer had just undergone a nine month "prenatal" period of preparation for his new "life," the Air Force instructors undertook to assure him that he was "not a civilian any more . . . but in the Air Force." On the first day, the observer, in an attempt to demonstrate the "new personality" which he had worked so hard to develop, intentionally appeared to defy an order of an instructor. A short time later, the instructor told his men, "I have handled many hundreds of enlistees and I know my job. I have already spotted some of you that I'm going to have trouble with."

At first, when the training was roughest or when he was spoken to gruffly by an instructor, the observer attempted to reassure himself that he was really an Air Force officer. He even would say to himself, "If these people knew what my *real* rank was they'd certainly act differently toward me." Interestingly, this attitude was apparently shared by another trainee who told the observer, "Back home I was a big shot." It wasn't long, however, before the observer realized that it made no difference who he *really was* as long as those around him *thought* he was Tom, and that there was little consolation in "pretending" that he was anybody else. Just as the other trainees were legally bound by the training situation, so the participant-observer considered himself morally bound and he felt that there was little difference between their respective positions. With the passage of time, the observer "forgot" about his old self; there was only the ever-present note taking to remind him that he was not just another trainee. His role in the barracks brought him so closely in contact with the men and their problems that he sometimes lost perspective. Here, again, the team was important in re-

⁵ In addition to the meetings themselves, the participant-observer was considerably aided by reading Professor Whyte's account of his field study. For example:

assuring the observer and helping him regain his objectivity.

Perhaps the most interesting phenomenon to the participant-observer was the ease with which he was able to carry out his role with the other trainees. The men not only accepted him and his cover story, but identified many aspects of his past as being similar to their own lives. The observer shared the sorrows and hopes of the other trainees and felt compelled to do his best out of loyalty to them. When the others learned of "tricks" by which to pass inspections or to give the appearance of doing a job which they had actually not done, the observer joined in and suffered no guilt for doing what he, as an officer, knew was "wrong." The observer is convinced that his complete integration into the trainees' sub-culture was essential for understanding and conveying the attitudes and problems which he reported. However, he also attaches importance to the professional guidance given by the other team members and the counsel and reassurance which they and the chaplain offered.

When the field study was completed, everyone who had been reading the reports felt that the effort had been successful; but this feeling had to be identified and codified. The reports were typed with a three inch margin so that the sociologist and anthropologist could make comments and point out significant items. This somewhat simplified the task of compiling key items, but it did not solve it. There remained the difficult job of reviewing each of the more than six hundred pages and listing those items which the team members thought most significant.

During the field study itself, the sociologist and anthropologist prepared memoranda pointing out critical aspects of the training environment with which they assumed their report would be concerned. This made it possible to develop categories or items which were believed to be sufficiently general (and significant) for consideration. Nevertheless, the three team members were faced with a mass of narrative and descriptive material, concrete, rich in detail, and vivid in language. For many weeks the team went over the items one by one. Because of their different training and experience and the unique requirements of

this study, they found it necessary to develop a common language (common not only to them, but also to the people whose comments and views were expressed in the study). When it was agreed that the significant items had been identified, the sociologist and anthropologist prepared summaries of the seven stages into which they had divided the field study. The summaries were then sent to the Air Force sociologist who, together with the participant-observer, used them as the basis of their final report.

As indicated above, the "team" was able to identify many re-occurring items in the reports. Some of these were behavior patterns of trainees and instructors, others were attitudes toward military life. Since this paper concerns primarily the method by which the study was carried out, it will not be possible here (a further article is planned) to describe at any length the substantive results of the research. However, a brief general statement of the findings should be of value at this time.

SOME OF THE FINDINGS

As had been anticipated, the trainees' images of the Air Force and of themselves changed in the course of their experiences. In the strange world of basic training the men looked to their instructors, exclusively at first, for leadership and explanations of their day-by-day activities. Then, as the training took shape, as the trainees saw themselves becoming airmen, as they began to understand the structure of their environment, they learned how to meet the multitude of requirements with which they were faced. There then began an unending search for shortcuts, methods by which one job could be done more quickly so as to allow more time for doing a second, third, and fourth. In seeking shortcuts, the trainees learned that some things were never checked up on even though they were officially required, and others did not have to be done as long as the appearance of doing them was demonstrated. There were instances when it seemed that "the Air Force" expected the trainees to indulge in these "patterned evasions,"⁶ and one who had learned the

⁶ This useful concept is taken from Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society: A Sociological Interpretation*, New York: Knopf, 1952, pp. 357-366.

"trick" behind the requirement did not need to feel any guilt.

While in basic training patterned evasion was used almost exclusively as a means for keeping up with all the tasks required in the short time allowed, this was not the only benefit it could provide. After the trainees reached their technical training base, but before they were actually able to begin school (a period of about four weeks during which they were assigned to a "holding" squadron), one flight was able to make use of numerous evasions in order to win the highly competitive honor of best flight in the squadron, and with this honor went privileges. Although winning the title of "honor flight" required the men to out-work the other flights, the "out-working" also involved a certain amount of "out-foxing."

The trainees were naturally disappointed at having to wait several weeks after reaching their technical training base before actually starting school, and at having to perform a great deal of "KP" during that time, but they were probably more discouraged at finding that they were not yet members of the "real Air Force." Even after receiving their first stripe, the feeling that they were still basic trainees persisted. Once in technical school, the patterned evasions upon which they had come to depend had to be abandoned in many instances because the added requirement of attending classes made it necessary for the squadrons to function differently. There were still many of the original requirements in effect, but it was almost impossible to know which ones were "important" and which ones were not. Since the men were in what seemed to be an unstructured and fluctuating situation, they began to slip in meeting requirements. This resulted in periodic crackdowns, which themselves led to the renewed use of patterned evasions—this time, however, not for the purpose of winning "honor flight" or solely as a means of allowing time to get everything done (as in basic training), but rather as a technique for providing the men with more leisure time. They felt that their job was to do their best in technical school and that any time which they could save from

their squadron (housekeeping) duties should be theirs to enjoy.

Certain men seemed to be able to cope with this problem better than others by virtue of their ability to separate the "testable" requirements from the "untestable" ones and to anticipate the crackdowns. Those who appeared to have rigid personalities never seemed to be able to structure the situation, nor to realize when they were spending their time on tasks which were never recognized. Such airmen, because of their inability to perceive subtle differences between situations, were most likely to get into trouble with both the official Air Force and the unofficial peer groups. The more adaptive airmen noticed that inspecting officers looked for certain things and not for others.

At four times during the field study, the men in the participant-observer's organizations were given a questionnaire which contained thirty-seven items intended to reflect the subjects' attitudes toward aspects of their training and their image of the Air Force. The responses to these items, although often mysterious in themselves, were almost entirely explainable in terms of the field study reports. Significant increases were found in favorable responses given after the initial phase of basic training as compared with favorable responses given to the same items at the beginning of enlistment. While only an "educated guess" would suggest that this was due to the airmen's belief that "the worst was over," the field study demonstrated it. The highly consistent drop in favorable responses after technical training, as compared to responses before it, would probably have been unaccountable but for the mass of information which was available to describe the events of that period. The questionnaire, although inconclusive by itself, was of value to the study insofar as it confirmed in quantitative terms some of the findings of participant-observation research.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Of course, a study of this type cannot, by itself, guarantee representativeness of samples nor afford rigorous testing of hypotheses. Its function seems to us to be that of supplementing other research procedures,

turning up new leads for questioning, observation, and interpretation. The method of participant observation was adopted in this case only after responsible Air Force personnel believed they had obtained about all they could from general observation, questionnaires, and formal interviews. In addition, they suspected that airmen, like other human beings, could and did maintain "false fronts," often deceiving officers, researchers, and perhaps themselves. Here seemed to be a new approach that might probe beneath the surface in a revealing way. Now that the study has been completed, both responsible Air Force

personnel and we ourselves believe that significant results were obtained.

Obviously no other study could duplicate our procedures in complete detail. But something of the sort could profitably be done, we believe, in the study of institutions such as prisons and hospitals. We suspect that heretofore most would-be participant observers have been early "spotted" by the objects of study and thereby prevented from entering fully into the life of the group in question. This study has at least demonstrated that thorough-going participant observation is very difficult, but not impossible.

VERBAL ATTITUDES AND OVERT ACTS: AN EXPERIMENT ON THE SALIENCE OF ATTITUDES *

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IN the face of the steady stream of studies of the verbal dimension of attitudinal behavior, the paucity of investigations of the overt-action correlates of such verbal behavior is indeed striking. Those who have conducted attitude research are not surprised by this one-sided emphasis: overt acceptance-avoidance acts are extremely difficult to isolate and measure. One source of this difficulty lies in the fact that few, if any, standardized situations or instruments have been developed enabling the investigator to quantify, on a positive-negative continuum, an acceptance or avoidance act for a set of subjects, with other conditions held constant.¹

The present paper reports an attempt to

develop an instrument which can readily be used in an interview situation for measuring the "salience" of a person's attitudinal orientations. It also explores the use of reference groups by subjects whose attitudinal salience is being measured. The term *salience* can be defined as the readiness of an individual to translate his (previously expressed verbal) attitude into overt action in relation to the attitude object. The relationship between inner conviction and overt behavior has frequently been discussed in connection with the validity of measures of verbal attitudes. In a thorough summary of the literature, Green² comments on this view of attitude measurement validity, pointing out that the validity of an attitude scale is actually the extent to which it truly represents behavior within a particular *attitude universe*. He distinguishes between a verbal attitude universe, from which attitude scale items are drawn, and an action attitude universe, consisting of a variety of overt behavior forms regarding the attitude object. Validity in the measurement of an attitude is the problem of determining the degree to which it meas-

* Support of the Social Science Research Council is gratefully acknowledged.

¹ There have been several attempts to develop *hypothetical situations tests* as measures of what subjects thought they might do in hypothetical situations which were described to them. Such statements of belief are not conceptually different from other forms of verbal behavior with which verbal attitudes are measured. See, e.g., A. C. Rosander, "An Attitude Scale Based Upon Behavior Situations," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 8 (February, 1937), pp. 3-15. Also: C. Robert Pace, "A Situations Test To Measure Social-Political-Economic Attitudes," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 10 (August, 1939), pp. 331-344.

² Bert F. Green, "Attitude Measurement," in Gardner Lindzey, editor, *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954, Vol. I, Chapter 9.

ures behavior within its appropriate universe; it is not necessarily a problem of determining the extent to which it predicts behavior from one universe to another. In line with this view, the purpose of the present study is not to develop a device for "validating" other attitude instruments. Its aim rather is to provide a simple device which can be used as an "action opportunity" for a subject to give public and overt testimony of his acceptance or rejection of a Negro in a specific action context.

STUDIES OF INCONSISTENCY

Earlier studies indicate that a person's verbal acceptance or rejection of minority groups may be quite unrelated to what he actually does or would do in overt interaction situations. For example, in company with a couple from China, La Piere³ made an extensive tour of the Pacific Coast and transcontinental United States during which they were accommodated by over 250 restaurants, hotels, and similar establishments. Refusal of service by virtue of the racial characteristics of the Chinese occurred only once. But when La Piere sent each establishment a letter and questionnaire requesting a statement of its policy regarding accommodating Chinese clients, over 90 per cent of the replies noted that they adhered to a policy of non-acceptance of such minority group members. In these cases, the overt act reversed the stated intention.

In a more recent study of overt behavior or action attitudes by Lohman and Reitzes⁴ 151 residents of an urban neighborhood were located who were also members of a particular labor union. Two conflicting norms regarding behavior toward Negroes prevailed in these two collectivities. The urban neighborhood was predominantly white and was resisting Negro penetration; a property owners association (of which the subjects were members) had been organized for this purpose. In this behavioral area, that is, with respect to having a Negro for

a neighbor, the subjects uniformly acted in an anti-Negro manner. However, the 151 subjects also belonged to a labor union with a clear and well implemented policy of granting Negroes complete equality on the job. Here, then, with the same subjects and the same attitude object, were two seemingly opposite action forms. An explanation of this situation in terms of individual verbal attitudes would be inadequate. The authors show that each of the formal organizations (the union and property owners association) provided the individual with a set of well formulated reasons and justifications for his actions in each of these spheres. Clearly, action attitudes may be determined to a considerable degree by the extent to which the individual is actually or psychologically involved in social systems providing him with norms and beliefs which he can use as guides to action when specific action opportunities arise.

In studying attitude salience, then, it may be predicted that individuals faced with the necessity of making an action decision with regard to Negroes will partially determine the direction of this action by consideration of the norms and policies of social groups which are meaningful to them. Ordinarily, we do not expect subjects to be involved in such well defined groups, with clearly specified policies regarding action toward Negroes, as those studied by Lohman and Reitzes. Norms and guides to action in more ordinary situations are more likely to be derived from family, friends, or other persons used as reference groups. For this reason, the present paper includes a probe into the reference groups invoked in an action decision made by subjects regarding public involvement with Negroes.

In the larger program of experiments, of which the present report is a part, the subjects were studied from the standpoint of the relationship between three dimensions of their attitudinal behavior: verbal, autonomic-physiological, and overt. There were three phases to this research: attitude testing, a laboratory session in which the subjects' autonomic-physiological responses to race stimuli were recorded, and a post-laboratory interview. This paper, however, is concerned only with the relationship between the verbal and overt dimensions and

³ Richard T. La Piere, "Attitudes vs. Actions," *Social Forces*, 13 (December, 1934), pp. 230-237.

⁴ Joseph D. Lohman and Dietrich C. Reitzes, "Deliberately Organized Groups and Racial Behavior," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (June, 1954), pp. 342-348.

draws its data largely from the post-laboratory interview.

The Summated Differences Scales⁵ were administered to 250 students in introductory sociology classes. From the 250 cases, two smaller groups were selected for more intensive study. The distribution of total scores was determined, and from those scoring in the top quartile (indicating the greatest verbal rejection of Negroes) 23 subjects

were selected on the basis of eight criteria (noted below). These individuals were carefully matched, by the method of frequency distribution control, with 23 subjects scoring in the lowest quartile (indicating the least verbal rejection of Negroes). The matching process reduced the size of the original group substantially, but 46 subjects were thus carefully selected for their similarity on eight characteristics of their social background. The frequency distributions of the groups were matched according to age, sex (half of each group was male), marital status, religion, social class, social mobility experience, residential history, and previous contact with Negroes. For convenience, we refer to that group showing the greatest verbal rejection of Negroes as the "prejudiced group," and their counterparts at the opposite end of the verbal scales as the "unprejudiced group."

METHOD

After each subject had completed a laboratory session in which his autonomic responses to race relations stimuli were recorded,⁶ he was conducted to an interview room where a variety of question, devices, and situations were presented to him regarding his feelings about Negroes. Shortly before the end of this hour-long post-laboratory interview the subject was presented with what may be called an "overt action opportunity." In the laboratory session, and in earlier phases of the interview, each subject had viewed a number of colored photographic slides showing interracial pairings of males and females. Some of these slides portrayed a well-dressed, good looking, young Negro man paired with a good looking, well-dressed, young white woman. Others showed a white man similarly paired with a Negro woman. The background for

⁵ This device employs the principle of eliciting a response to a white person of a given occupational status and then, many pages later, a response to a Negro of the same occupational status, each portrayed in the same hypothetical relationship with the respondent. Numerical differences between the responses to whites and to Negroes are then summed. For example, in one item the respondent is asked to respond (from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" in five possible categories) to the statement "I believe I would be willing to have a *Negro Doctor* have his hair cut at the same barber shop where I have mine cut." Later, after approximately 200 items have been interposed, he is asked to respond to the statement, "I believe I would be willing to have a *White Doctor* have his hair cut at the barber shop where I have mine cut." Thus, a respondent may "strongly disagree" to one of these propositions and "agree" to the other. The wide separation between the white and Negro of identical occupation by interposing a great many items provides a concealment factor. The ability of the respondent to remember how he responded earlier is greatly reduced by this control. The difference between the responses is given a numerical value indicating differential acceptance of the white and Negro of the same occupational status in this particular relationship with the respondent. A total of eight occupational categories are involved and a large variety of activities. In all, over 500 responses are elicited from a given subject. The respondent's total score is simply the summated numerical differences between his responses to whites and Negroes of similar occupation in a variety of relationships with the respondent. The total score indicates the extent to which the respondent regards Negroes as objects to be accepted or rejected as compared to whites.

The reliability coefficients of the scales were derived through testing and retesting 99 undergraduate students of Indiana University. The time interval between the test and retest was five weeks. The reliability coefficients were as follows:

Scale I Residential:	$r=.95$
Scale II Position:	$r=.95$
Scale III Interpersonal-Physical:	$r=.80$
Scale IV Interpersonal-Social:	$r=.87$
Combined Scores:	$r=.96$

For a detailed discussion of this device, see Frank R. Westie, "A Technique for the Measurement of Race Attitudes," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (February, 1953), pp. 73-78.

⁶ These autonomic responses to racial stimuli are described in some detail in a paper forthcoming in the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. Briefly, they consist of galvanic skin responses and changes in finger blood volume occurring when prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects viewed photographic slides portraying Negroes and whites of both sexes shown singly and in all possible pairs. The results indicate that attitudinal responses include changes in the autonomic system which differ for types of subjects classified as prejudiced and unprejudiced.

all of the slides consisted of a table, a lamp, and a window with a drapery, giving an effect not unlike that of a living room or possibly a dormitory lounge. The persons in the photographs were seated beside each other in separate chairs, and were looking at one another with pleasant expressions. The photographer and models had been instructed to strive for a portrayal of cordiality, but not romance.⁷ Each of the 46 subjects had given projective interpretations of "what was happening" in these pictures.

To present the overt action opportunity, the interviewer told each subject that another set of such slides was needed for further research. The subject was first asked if he (or she) would be willing to be photographed with a Negro person of the opposite sex, a request which elicited a wide variety of responses, as well as considerable hesitation in many cases. A number indicated willingness, but others refused categorically to be so photographed. Then, regardless of his (or her) stated position, the subject was presented with a mimeographed form and informed that this was "a standard *photograph release agreement*, which is necessary in any situation where a photograph of an individual is to be used in any manner." The photograph release agreement contained a graded series of "uses" to which the photograph would be put (see Figure 1), ranging from laboratory experiments, such as they had just experienced, to a nationwide publicity campaign advocating racial integration. They were to sign their name to each "use" which they would permit.⁸

In American society, the affixing of one's signature to a document is a particularly significant act. The signing of checks, contracts, agreements, and the like is clearly understood to indicate a binding obligation on the part of the signer to abide by the

provisions of the document. The signing of the document in the present study took on additional significance due to the involvement of the racial variable.

The problem of the validity and reliability of this device as a measure of the salience of

FIGURE 1. PHOTOGRAPH AUTHORIZATION

The directors of the experiment you just participated in need more photographs like you saw on the screen (with Negroes and whites posed together.) If you will volunteer to pose for such photographs, please indicate the conditions under which you will allow these pictures to be used by signing the "releases" below. You may sign *some of them, all of them or none of them as you see fit*. (It is standard practice to obtain such a signed release for any kind of photograph which is to be used for some purpose.)

If you are not interested in participating in this phase of the study, you are absolutely free to do as you wish. If you do not want to commit yourself in any way on this matter, it is perfectly all right and we will respect your decision. Whatever you do, your decision will be held in the strictest confidence.

I will pose for a photograph (of the same type as in the experiment) with a Negro person of the opposite sex with the following restrictions on its use:

1. I will allow this photograph to be used in laboratory experiments where it will be seen only by professional sociologists.

Signed.....

2. I will allow this photograph to be published in a technical journal read only by professional sociologists.

Signed.....

3. I will allow this photograph to be shown to a few dozen University students in a laboratory situation.

Signed.....

4. I will allow this photograph to be shown to hundreds of University students as a teaching aid in Sociology classes.

Signed.....

5. I will allow this photograph to be published in the *Student Newspaper* as part of a publicity report on this research.

Signed.....

6. I will allow this photograph to be published in my home town newspaper as part of a publicity report on this research.

Signed.....

7. I will allow this photograph to be used in a nation-wide publicity campaign *advocating racial integration*.

Signed.....

⁷ This effort to avoid romantic and sexual connotations was made so that the slides could be used as projective devices in another phase of the research. In spite of these efforts, female subjects tended to "see" these situations as romantic.

⁸ In all cases, it was emphasized to the subject that he was free to terminate his participation in the experiment at any time. He was told that he could do so without prejudice on the part of the interviewer, and that he would remain anonymous in this decision. No subject took advantage of this opportunity.

a subject's attitude toward Negroes can be only partially answered at present. Various approaches to establishing the validity of measuring instruments have been discussed in the literature.⁹ The question of acceptable criteria of validity for a particular instrument has received many answers, and the entire issue is currently a controversial one. Such validating techniques as the "known groups" method are unacceptable for measures of salience because the evidence for validity rests upon comparisons of groups on the basis of known *verbal* attitudes. Correlating the instrument with other measures of overt acceptance-avoidance acts would be a useful method, but no standardized instruments exist for such a task.

If the items in an instrument are a reasonably good representation of the items characterizing the attitudinal universe, many investigators would say that the scale is valid by definition, that is, it has *face validity*. The term *intrinsic validity* has been used by Gulliksen to describe this situation.¹⁰ A method which he suggests for at least a preliminary approach to validating an instrument is to employ a group of "experts" to evaluate the items selected for a measuring device.

In a modified version of Gulliksen's procedure, the series of "photograph usages" was submitted in random order to eight judges, who were sociologists of faculty status. The judges were asked to rate the usages, ranking first the use to which they felt the prejudiced person would least object. There was almost complete agreement among their rankings: only one judge reversed the order of a single adjacent pair in the 618 pair-judgments. In the eyes of presumably competent specialists, then, the items of the instrument represent an ordered sample of acts which prejudiced persons would object to in regularly increasing degrees.

The items in the instrument were designed and arranged so that they represent a cumulative series, thereby providing an obvious possibility for scaling. This was not undertaken, however, with the present ver-

sion of the instrument due to the relatively small number of scale items and subjects. Nevertheless, the response patterns show almost complete transitivity: in only three of the 46 cases were there irregularities in the cumulative feature of the instrument. (In these three instance subjects did not sign an item lower on the scale, selecting one with a higher rank.) This pattern is a rough indication that the reproducibility would be rather good if the items were to be scaled. Such evidence of transitivity, of course, gives only a partial answer to the question of reliability, just as the judgments of experts meets only partially the validity problem.

The subjects uniformly perceived the behavioral situation posed for them as a highly realistic request, and many clearly exhibited discomfort at being caught in a dilemma. Wishing to cooperate with the interviewer, they nevertheless preferred to be uninvolved in a photograph with a Negro of opposite sex. There were a few, of course, who were quite willing to sign the agreement and did so without hesitation.

VERBAL PREJUDICE AND OVERT ACTS

The purpose of creating this situation was to provide the subjects opportunity to give public and overt testimony of their acceptance or rejection of Negroes. But the data so obtained also allow a test of the hypothesis that individuals with negative or positive verbal attitudes will act in accord with those attitudes in an overt situation.

The results of the photographic release agreement and its relationship to the verbally elicited attitudinal category of the subjects are given in Table 1. Subjects were classified as falling above or below the mean

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACE ATTITUDES AND LEVEL OF SIGNED AGREEMENT TO BE PHOTOGRAPHED WITH NEGRO

		Subject Attitude	
		Prejudice	Un-prejudiced
Signed level	Below \bar{X}	18	9
of agreement	Above \bar{X}	5	14

Chi square=7.264
p<.01

⁹ See, e.g., Harold Gulliksen, "Intrinsic Validity," *The American Psychologist*, 5 (October, 1950), pp. 511-517.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

level of endorsement. The distribution was such that the mean and median fell at identical points.

In this situation, there was clearly a greater tendency for the prejudiced persons than the unprejudiced to avoid being photographed with a Negro. The relationship is significant, suggesting some correspondence in this case between attitudes measured by verbal scales and an acceptance-avoidance act toward the attitude object. In spite of the statistical significance, however, there were some prejudiced persons who signed the agreement without hesitation at the highest level, as well as some unprejudiced persons who were not willing to sign at any level. Thus, the relationship between these verbal and overt attitudinal dimensions, while significant, is not a simple one-to-one correspondence. These findings are consistent with much of the earlier research, some of which is described above. The factors which account for this seeming inconsistency need careful exploration.

One possibility of explaining the inconsistency in the present study is to assume that prejudiced subjects who signed at the higher levels and unprejudiced persons who refused to sign were misclassified by the original measurement of verbal attitudes. But this explanation is suspect due to the fact that the individuals used as subjects represent the extremes (upper and lower quartiles) of the verbal attitude distribution. While this does not eliminate the possibility of error, of course, it reduces it considerably. The inadequacy of an explanation on the basis of error alone is also suggested by the distribution in Table 1. Fourteen of forty-six subjects (almost one-third) show behavior patterns in opposition to their verbally elicited attitudes—this is too large a proportion to attribute to measurement errors. The latter, moreover, theoretically are cancelled out by errors in the opposite direction.

The lack of a straight-line relationship between verbal attitudes and overt action behavior more likely may be explained in terms of some sort of social involvement of the subject in a system of social constraints, preventing him from acting (overtly) in the direction of his convictions, or other-

wise "legitimizing" certain behavioral patterns. These channelizing influences on behavior have received theoretical attention in terms of such concepts as "reference groups," "other directedness," and "significant others."

REFERENCE GROUPS

Reference groups were cited earlier as possibly an important influence upon the direction of behavior of individuals confronted with action opportunities regarding attitude objects. This possibility accounts for our hypothesis that the act of signing the photograph agreement involves a conscious consideration of reference groups. Thus the subjects were asked, immediately following their response to the document, "Was there any particular person or group of people (other than the interviewer) who came to mind when you decided to sign (or refused to sign) this document? That is, are there people whom you felt would approve or disapprove?" (Since the entire interview was recorded on tape for later study, it was possible to examine carefully the responses to this question.) The majority of the subjects needed little or no prompting for presumably they had certain key groups or individuals clearly in mind when they made their decisions.

Sixty reference groups were identified as being influential in the decision-making of the 46 subjects regarding the signing of the photographic release. Nearly three-fourths of them (71.8 per cent) invoked some type of reference group when faced with this problem, while the remaining fourth (28.2 per cent) apparently made an "inner directed" decision. Perhaps significantly, *all* of those who did cite a reference group mentioned some type of peer group, while only a third referred to the family. In all cases the subjects were able to state whether these groups would approve or disapprove of their posing for such a photograph.

Riesman (among others) has discussed the peer group as an important source for behavioral cues and has described the "other-directed" personality, presumably on the increase in American middle class society, as a type for which the peer group operates

as a predominant director of behavior.¹¹ Earlier research, for example the Bennington study,¹² has shown that campus groups function as important influences on attitudes. The present findings are consistent with these conclusions.

In summary, verbally expressed attitudes were significantly related to the direction of the action taken by subjects regarding being photographed with a Negro of the opposite sex. On the other hand, a third of the subjects behaved in a manner quite inconsistent with that which might be expected from their verbal attitudes. Whatever the direction of this action, however, it was a *peer-directed* decision for the majority, with the subjects making significant use of their beliefs concerning possible approval or disapproval of reference groups as guides for behavior.

CONCLUSIONS

The present findings have at least two implications for further research. First, in order to analyze the relationship between the verbal and action dimensions of attitudes, it may be necessary to add to attitude scales a systematic categorization of the system of social constraints within which individual behavior ordinarily takes place. Thus, analysis of the beliefs of an individual about the attitudes, norms, and values held by his reference groups, significant others, voluntary organizations, peer groups, and the like may be essential for better prediction of individual lines of action with the use of verbal scales. This would represent a more distinctly sociological approach.

¹¹ David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950, *passim*.

¹² Theodore M. Newcomb, "Attitude Development as a Function of Reference Groups: The Bennington Study," reprinted in E. E. Maccoby, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley, editors, *Readings in Social Psychology*, New York: Henry Holt, 1958, pp. 265-275.

Second, a systematic development of standardized *overt action opportunities* may be necessary before an individual can be accurately classified on a positive-negative continuum concerning a particular attitude object. That is, standardized opportunities for subjects to make overt acceptance-avoidance acts may provide quantitative assessment of the *salience* of attitudes by classifying overt non-verbal action toward an attitude object. The photograph authorization reported here is a crude attempt to classify such action. Further studies of salience could be based on overt action opportunities in small group settings. For example, individuals could be observed and their behavior categorized when given actual opportunities, say, for physical contact with a Negro, to be seen in public with a Negro in primary group settings, or to use physical facilities used by Negroes. Such behavioral settings could provide standardized ways of measuring the action attitudes of subjects placed in such contexts. They could also provide methods for validating measuring instruments such as the one described in this paper.

Methods which require elaborate or cumbersome physical facilities would have limited utility in the practical measurement of attitude salience. Measuring instruments such as the photograph authorization have the advantage of portability. If it can be shown that these measures correlate highly with overt action in standardized small group behavioral situations, their validity can be established more firmly.

Further advances in the prediction of overt behavior from attitude measuring instruments may require both systematic measures of the social anchorages of individual psychological orientations and careful studies of their translation into overt social action. These would probably help to clarify the often perplexing relationship between the verbal and overt action dimensions of attitudinal phenomena.

SOCIAL TYPES: PROCESS AND STRUCTURE

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COMPARATIVELY few of the hundreds of social types in American culture have received much attention and their general part in modern social systems has not been made clear. These collective concepts have a function in role-definition and the organization of the self, for example, and hence are an important link between the person and the system. Their significance, if anything, is growing as our society becomes more mobile and anonymous, for it is more important to place people we do not know very well. The number of roles in modern systems is greater, and the individual has more choices and discriminations to make. Versatility in role playing is also probably greater, if we can judge by such things as the development of human relations techniques and training. So we must know many roles in order to be "adjusted," and must be critics, if not connoisseurs, of social types in order to distinguish real from "phony" role-playing. Social types, as I shall try to suggest, are consensual concepts of roles that have not been fully codified and rationalized, which help us to find our way about in the social system. To put it another way, they are a chart to role-structures otherwise largely invisible and submerged.

The purpose of this paper is to try to show how the typing process serves the system and what aspects of structure are especially well reflected in social types. The following discussion considers four key structural-functional aspects of social types.

First, they make for finer discrimination of roles than the formal¹ structure recog-

¹ By formal I mean role-behavior that is deliberate, prescribed, and subject to explicit rules and expectations, as contrasted with role-behavior that is spontaneous, non-deliberate, and not explicitly spelled out (though it may be normative). It is the distinction commonly made in sociology between formal and informal controls, and between certain aspects of primary and secondary group behavior. "Formality" in common speech also conveys the idea. It is not, however, the "empty" formalism defined by Cooley. Being explicitly prescribed, formal behavior necessarily has a rather

nizes. Between knowing a person's formal status only and knowing him intimately there is a kind of knowledge that "fills in." For example, bankers may be hard-headed but Mr. X is a "good Joe." This information can be quickly transmitted and serves to orient a person, say a loan-seeker, more effectively in the social structure. The social type² is his substitute for really knowing the person he deals with—and often not a poor substitute at that. Since any formal structure labels and recognizes only a limited number of roles, it is left to social typing to specify much of the informal structure and special

high degree of rationality, whether traditional (e.g., etiquette, ritual, family organization), or legal or bureaucratic as Weber discusses these terms. In Parsons' terminology, formal behavior might be said to be universalistic and specific rather than particularistic and diffuse. Somewhat along the same line, E. T. Hiller writes, "Formality indicates a categorical rather than a unique personal footing," by which one conveys "a denial that affectional ideas are held" and a reminder that the other is to remain at a social distance "beyond the bounds of exclusive relations." (*Social Relations and Structures*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947, pp. 105-106). For these reasons, we may expect that formal structure will neglect many aspects of the persons with which social typing often deals more adequately, indeed, might be said to be especially concerned.

² A distinction between social type and social role is also in order. First, roles vary greatly in degree of consensus, ranging from those about which there is little consensus, perhaps because unique and personal, to those such as a doctor's obligation to administer emergency treatment—about which there is virtual unanimity throughout the society. Social types are roles which, though informal, have become rather well conceptualized and about which there is a comparatively high degree of consensus. Second, while many roles are widely allocated and do not "belong" to any particular kind of person who characteristically plays them, some get conceptually linked with a kind of person. At this point we may speak of the role-consensus as having developed into a social type. That is, a "tightwad" is not only a consensual concept of a stingy role but a kind of person who characteristically acts that way. This stress on the kind-of-person-who-acts-that-way helps also to clarify the distinction of social types from formal roles, which tend to be more abstract and impersonal.

situations that develop. One important function, then, is to label deviants within a status, for example, the character, the square, the troublemaker, the eager-beaver, the boondoggler. *Sub rosa* and illicit organizations are also well indicated by social types, for example, the call-girl, pimp, pusher. Thus, unlike stereotypes, social types are cognitively valuable: they aid perception and have "truth."

The social type, as here conceived, may be contrasted with the stereotype. A stereotype is often, if not generally, viewed as an inaccurate, rigid popular concept playing an important part in prejudice. It is not rational and interferes with insight.³ The implicit aim of many of those who study stereotypes seems to be to analyze them so as to get rid of them. The conception of the social type presented here is in marked contrast with this view. Social types, according to the present argument, are as realistic as most concepts used in everyday life may be expected to be; they are needed for effective participation in modern secondary society, and are characteristically applied within the system to promote insightful relations rather than to hold people at a distance or portray outside groups in an inaccurate way. Take, for example, the way a bellhop, detective, or waiter uses social types to help him gauge the strangers with whom he deals; or the feeling we have of knowing people better when a social type "sums them up" or "hits the nail on the head." This is often a highly individual characterization rather than a "lumping" together. However valuable the concept of stereotype has been as a research tool,⁴ it has served to obscure this

functional side of the typing process by emphasizing its cognitive deficiencies.

To sum up the difference in emphasis of the two concepts: the stereotype is conceived as being in error whereas the social type is in a sense true (representative of real roles that are being played); one refers outside the group whereas the other refers inside the group to things with which people are familiar; one tends to be conceived as functionless or dysfunctional (or, if functional, serving prejudice and conflict mainly), whereas social types serve the structure of society at many points. People often speak as if they would like to be rid of stereotypes, but society as we know it would be inconceivable without social types. One goal of a functional study is to understand them so that we can live with and use them.

Since the concepts overlap, it is recommended as a step toward clarification, that the term stereotype be confined to the more rigid and inaccurate popular images and not be applied indiscriminately—probably not to the majority—of social types.

A second important function of social typing in a changing society is to define emergent roles and thus to play a role in the development of social structure. A changing social structure is marked by both emerging and disappearing types. Comparatively new American types, for example, are the egghead,⁵ cat,⁶ five-percenter, and hot-rodder. Obsolete types remain as linguistic fossils, such as Lord Fauntleroy, Lady Bountiful, vamp, and mugwump. For Negroes living in the northern United States, Uncle Tom is a fairly obsolescent type.

How does a role become defined and become merged with the social structure as a form of consensus? Suppose a person plays a new role that is important for a group. People may not be able to name the role at first, for they lack the vocabulary, remarking, for example, "He's an institution around here," or "You know Charlie." But in attempting to characterize the role, there is a kind of striving to hit the mark: some

³ Walter Lippman's remarks are typical: the "hallmark" of a stereotype is that it "precedes the use of reason; is a form of perception, imposes a certain character on the data of our senses before the data reach the intelligence." Where distance separates men who "are often in vital contact with each other . . . there is neither time nor opportunity for intimate acquaintance. Instead we notice a trait which marks a well known type, and fill in the rest of the picture by means of the stereotypes we carry about in our heads." *Public Opinion*, New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. 67, 73.

⁴ See, for example, the studies by Katz and Braly, Bettelheim and Janowitz, Campbell, Deutsch and Collins, Sargent, and Allport and Postman, collected in G. E. Swanson, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley, editors, *Readings in Social Psychology*, New York: Henry Holt, 1952.

⁵ The term egghead was apparently coined by John de Koven Alsop, to refer to supporters of Adlai Stevenson during the 1952 Presidential election. See Cleveland Amory, *Saturday Review*, Jan. 4, 1958, p. 5.

⁶ See, e.g., Harold Finestone, "Cats, Kicks and Color," *Social Problems*, 5 (July, 1957), pp. 3-13.

wit, perhaps, finds a name for it; or people may use the name of the person who first plays the role conspicuously (in life or fiction) and, in pointing out new players, say, "He's a Charlie." Many social type designations in our slang were originally proper names, for example, Babbitt, Uncle Bim, Judas, Fagin, Shylock, sloppy Jane. After a type becomes labeled, it can take on a formal status, even specify an office that may be occupied by others. A group may say, "We elect you, Charlie." To use Weber's terminology, personal charisma becomes routinized by the typing process. So we can see a kind of continuum between a unique personal role and a formal organizational office, in which typing plays a part in the institutionalization of roles. But, let us repeat, the function of social types is not to supplant but to supplement formal social structure. While some types may become institutionalized as offices, their main ground is the informal area between the purely personal role and the rational social structure. They emerge as a kind of consensus on the level of "common sense" which, however, is not as rational as ideal bureaucratic structure.

A third important function of social typing is to help to place individuals within the social system. Typing a person gives him an informal status and brings him under controls otherwise absent. This occurs within the existent institutional framework; the new status is a modification of a formal status. For example, a boss may be discounted by employees as a fuddy-duddy, or a new employee as an eager-beaver. The controls brought into play by such typing are informal and supplement the formal sanctions. Here it should be noted that many social types have either a heroic, a villainous, or a foolish connotation and the person typed is treated accordingly.⁷ In this way, to call a person a party-pooper, say, tells him, "Don't leave early," and subjects him to a certain amount of derision if he does so. People thus draw from the cultural repertoire of social types in order to control individuals and to modify their status. Every culture presumably includes

such a repertoire; the American list is a long one.

A fourth function of social typing is personal orientation through self-typing and role-models. If the type becomes a major component of personality structure, it affects the individual's vulnerability to certain influences⁸ and gives direction to his "gravitation"⁹ from group to group. For example, a person may think of himself as a tough guy or a good Joe or a smart operator; seeing himself in such a role, he will reject suggestions and group-memberships inconsistent with his self-type and, conversely, he will seek those which build up his self-type.

An important ingredient of this orientation process is the institutionalization of certain types as role-models. The most significant social types for any institution or society may be expected to be found in its hero-cult.¹⁰ Thus, in the United States, the cult of celebrities and the other dominating types presented by the mass communication media deserve careful sociological study.¹¹ Negative models are institutionalized in villain¹² and fool types.

Some aspects of social typing come out more clearly when a group or institution is formed of persons who belong to one predominant type, for example, a religious sect or brotherhood, or a clique of transvestites. The group exerts its own controls¹³ in support of the type and it may become explicit,

⁸ See Walter C. Reckless, Simon Dinitz, and Barbara Kay, "The Self Component in Potential Delinquency and Potential Non-Delinquency," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (October, 1957), pp. 566-570.

⁹ The term is used by Albert K. Cohen to describe the movement of people with status-problems toward congenial groups in *Delinquent Boys*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955.

¹⁰ See O. E. Klapp, "Hero Worship in America," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (February, 1949), pp. 53-62.

¹¹ Content-analysis of public images of celebrities should reveal their type. See, e.g., Thomas Harris, "The Building of Popular Images: Grace Kelly and Marilyn Monroe," *Studies in Public Communication*, University of Chicago, 1 (Summer, 1957), pp. 45-48.

¹² See O. E. Klapp, "American Villain-Types," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (June, 1956), pp. 337-340.

¹³ See, e.g., Edwin H. Sutherland, "The Professional Thief," *Readings in Social Psychology*, op. cit., pp. 271-279.

⁷ See O. E. Klapp, "Heroes, Villains and Fools as Agents of Social Control" *American Sociological Review*, 19 (February, 1954), pp. 56-62.

even formalized. (Indeed, the control of a cohesive group may be so strong that depersonalization occurs, that is, the uniqueness of personality disappears and only the type shows). Associations with such names as The Optimists' Club and The Boosters' Club suggest that an effort has been made to formalize a type as an ideal status personality and that recruiting and socializing new members on the basis of this pattern has become institutionalized. As Whyte notes, good Joes are often selected by personality tests so as to meet the corporation's image.¹⁴

We have specified four key functions which social typing as a consensual process performs for a social system, especially in a society characterized by formality, anonymity, mobility, and change. These functions are: (1) role-discrimination; (2) definition and institutionalization of emergent roles; (3) modification of status and social control of incumbents through the influence of types as sanctions; and (4) personal orientation through self-typing and role-models provided by social types.

When such functions are needed, society may draw on people to fill appropriate types—it may cast them in the role or recruit them for the job. Where a need is recurrent or continuous, the type and recruitment procedures may become institutionalized, perhaps professionalized. Thus a city greeter's job probably calls for a glad-handler, a professional party-giver is likely to have been a "life of the party," a cafe-bouncer perhaps should be a tough guy, a confidence team needs a fast-talker, a conflict group often institutionalizes the type of the martyr.¹⁵ The fool provides a clear example of a social type that has become an office and professionalized as the jester.¹⁶ In mass entertainment, the standardized types of certain performers illustrate much the same thing, as

in the cases of Jack Benny's "cheapskate" role, Humphrey Bogart's tough guy, and Mae West's sex queen. It may be said that the manifest function of such performers is entertainment, but a latent function is to supply social types. The selective influence of these types can be seen in such recruitment devices as beauty contests, amateur contests, movie-casting, studio build-ups of starlets, and popularity contests. Recruitment does not operate continuously in all cases, many types being seasonal or situational, for example, the agitator, the crusader, the man-on-a-white-horse, the authoritarian, the super-patriot, the scapegoat.¹⁷ Heroes often serve to meet the emergency needs of society and at other times are "out of season."

This discussion merely shows some of the ways in which social types serve society. Viewed in their structural aspects, the ensemble of types constitute a role-network undergirding, as it were, the formal structure. This role network is largely invisible and unspecified. Though not spelled out, it is based on consensus regarding roles: their nature, obligations and norms; what attitude to take toward them; and counter or reciprocal roles, including sanctions. Our slang registers this consensus. This "invisible" structure deserves study and inventory.¹⁸

Such an inventory would help to reveal submerged aspects of social structure and to diagnose important social phenomena. Examples of the latter include: mobility, as reflected in types like the climber, crasher, and joiner; stratification—top dog, big shot, low man, insider;¹⁹ conformity—square,

¹⁴ William H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956. See especially Chapters 10 and 12.

¹⁵ See Donald W. Riddle, *The Martyrs*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931.

¹⁶ O. E. Klapp, "The Fool as a Social Type," *American Journal of Sociology*, 55 (September, 1949), pp. 157-162. Lucille Hoerr Charles finds clowning to be institutionalized in some cultures in all major areas of the world in "The Clown's Function," *Journal of American Folklore*, 58 (April-June, 1945), pp. 25-34.

¹⁷ An unconventional way of looking at police and criminal court procedures is as a recruitment device for villains and scapegoats. See my "Vilification as a Social Process" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Seattle, Wash., August, 1958).

¹⁸ For one such inventory see Samuel M. Strong, "Social Types of the Negro Community of Chicago," unpublished Ph.D., thesis, The University of Chicago, 1940. I am at present making a survey of general social types in the United States.

¹⁹ Floyd Hunter finds that social type labels help differentiate elite structure: upper leaders are referred to by names such as bigwig, big wheel, high mogul, high boy, big boy, big operator, reactionary; those in the understructure "trying to curry favor . . . by doing their bidding with too much alacrity" might include fire-ball, hot-shot, stoolie, punk, fall guy, hatchet man. See Hunter's

regular guy, egg head, sissy, creep; group morale—boondogler, eager beaver, goldbrick, fanatic; *anomie* and the exploitative ethics of *Gesellschaft*—chiseler,²⁰ smart operator, wolf, con man, push-over; and pseudo-*Ge-meinschaft*—glad hand, soft soaper.

Social types might also be used as an index of social change, registered by the number and kinds of emergent and obsolete types. For probably one mark of a modern dynamic culture is that it incorporates a large number of emergent types.

Moreover, societies can be compared in

terms of social types. American types, for example, provide a distinctive *milieu*, which stands in contrast with those of Mexico, Canada, various European cultures, and so on. An inventory of each nation's (and ethnic group's) social types should help in the study of "national character."

Finally, the study of social types should be useful in the analysis of personality by indicating the types a person identifies with and by providing clues concerning his needs, reference groups, conflicts, and probable behavior. It may be the case that the ability of an individual to identify and discriminate social types is an index of his socialization, or, if an immigrant, of his degree of acculturation. In any event, this ability betokens in some measure the individual's capacity to find his way about in the informal social structure of his society.

Community Power Structure, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953, p. 42.

²⁰ See Erwin O. Smigel, "Public Attitudes toward 'Chiseling' with Reference to Unemployment Compensation," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (February, 1953), pp. 59-67.

COMMUNICATIONS

ON AUTHORITARIANISM IN GERMANY

To the Editor:

In his review of *Gespräche mit der deutschen Jugend* in the *Review* of April, 1958, Howard Becker includes me with Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Sanford, and Schaffner as having been preoccupied with "authoritarianism" in German culture. Since this is not the first time he has made this inference, I should like to make it clear that I have always considered the authoritarian personality as being universal and not confined to any particular country. Such was not my chief concern in the field work I did in Germany in 1945-46. Then I was more interested in trying to see the direction of future political trends, plus other factors in political sociology.

In *Postwar Germans* (1948) I declared that Nazism was dead in Western Germany; that the Communist Party would not get more than 3 to 4 per cent of the vote in the future; that the Social Democratic Party would become the vehicle of working-class nationalism; and that the Christian Democratic Union would try to make the pre-1914 past return but with greater success. I noted that I had found the German family system very warm, with authoritarian fathers present not only among those of Nazi background but also among some with strong anti-Nazi beliefs.

DAVID RODNICK

*The Institute for International
Social Research*

REPLY TO RODNICK

To the Editor:

David Rodnick's letter raises a number of points, only a few of which can be considered here. First, it should be clear to anyone that there are wide differences as between, for example, Adorno and Schaffner. In including Dr. Rodnick in the list of those concerned with authoritarianism in Germany, I did not mean to imply that he has not also shown interests in authoritarianism elsewhere. Had I dealt with each person separately, the review of Pipping's book would have far exceeded even the rather considerable length that it did reach.

Second, it is quite true that "this is not the

first time" that I have mentioned Dr. Rodnick's name. In *The Annals*, volume 264 (July, 1949), pp. 137-138, I reviewed his *Postwar Germany: An Anthropologist's Account*. Because that book is the reason for his inclusion in the list above noted, I feel that I should quote from it:

... The basic exception which the reviewer takes lies at the level of interpretation, and here he must be outspoken. Eschwege and Weibull are not even typical of Hessian Protestantism, let alone German Protestantism. . . . It is little short of amazing to read "an anthropologist's account" on the title page and then find this sort of loose terminology. . . . As Alistair Cooke recently put it in a review of Gorer's book, "It makes you wonder about what they say about the Trobrianders."

Altogether apart from these strictures is an objection to the fundamental approach, which stems in large part from Kardiner. The early years of childhood, growth within the family, and what may in general be called pre-adolescent formative influences cannot be made to account for the specifically "Protestant German" traits to which Rodnick points. With only slight adjustments, what he says about "the world as a German child sees it" could be said about Swiss, English, Dutch, or Swedish children. The significant differences between the conduct of the nationalities just named root in factors that begin to exert their effect only after the child is well on the path toward adulthood. If this were not the case, to take a crucial example, the conduct of the German-speaking Swiss of Basel, removed by only the width of the Rhine from the German-speaking population of south Baden, would be utterly inexplicable. One, bitterly anti-Nazi; the other, belligerently pro-Nazi. Whence comes the contrast?

Those making use of Rodnick's study consequently must be very wary. Commendable in its evidence of industry and effort to gather pertinent facts, it falls far short of a sound interpretation.

It is regrettable that it should be necessary to thresh old straw, but as a responsible reviewer I have no recourse.

HOWARD BECKER

University of Wisconsin

ON "MENTAL PATIENTS IN THE COMMUNITY"

To the Editor:

The report of Freeman and Simmons "Mental Patients in the Community: Family Settings and Performance Levels," *American Sociological Re-*

view, 23 (April, 1958) as the authors suggest, is of great interest to practitioners, especially so to those who are engaged in after care services. The findings that "a greater proportion of patients are returned to hospitals from conjugal families" than from parental families (p. 152) and the inferred greater "tolerance of deviance" on the part of the latter have special import for release and after care activities.

One comment in the article, relating to practice, raises an important question. (I speak here as a social worker.) The authors suggest (p. 154) that "While effective in freeing a hospital bed, however, releasing the patient to the tolerant milieu which tends to predominate in the parental family may be the most inadequate community setting if movement toward instrumental performance is a desired outcome of hospitalization." This comment presumably has validity for individual situations and also has the merit of pointing up the fallacy of a goal of "freeing beds." However, it has serious shortcomings as a generalization, even though tentatively stated. To act on it would be equivalent to "writing off" the parental family as inherently destructive and impervious to change. Characterization of the parental family as a "tolerant milieu" is inadequate. There is abundant empirical evidence that the parental family is additionally characterized by its strong am-

bivalence and its involvement in a profound struggle to adapt somehow to the deviance of the patient. Perhaps more fundamentally, it is *there*—and is not likely to yield to external judgments about its role.

As a result, after care services are increasingly focused on enabling released patients and their families to deal in more effective ways with the problems arising from return to the community. Such a focus of course is impossible if we assume that the parental family is per se an "inadequate community setting." Clinical experience suggests rather that mental health measures find their major dynamics in the reality of complex and conflictful family (and other social) relationships.

The clues offered by this and similar studies significantly contribute to the emerging community mental health movement. Vastly more knowledge is needed for programs which endeavor to provide new opportunities to released patients (and their families) to find and achieve modes of "instrumental performance." In this connection, we look forward to studies that take into account the impact of after care services upon the "return" process.

MAX BOGNER

California State Department of
Mental Hygiene

Grants for Asian Sociologists

The American Sociological Society has received from The Asia Foundation a grant for the purpose of encouraging closer relations between Asian and American sociologists. The funds will be used in three ways:

- (1) To enable Asian sociologists to become members of the American Sociological Society and to receive a three-year subscription to one or more of its official publications.

(Membership in the Society and a three-year subscription to the *American Sociological Review* will be \$1.00; if all Society publications are desired, the three-year cost will be \$2.00. Applicants should write directly to The American Sociological Society, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, New York. Payment may be made in UNESCO coupons or in any way convenient and acceptable under the exchange regulations of the Asian country concerned. The privilege is extended to graduate students as well as to established sociologists.)

- (2) To enable libraries, university departments, and research institutes in Asia, who have heretofore been unable to subscribe, to subscribe to publications of the Society at reduced rates.

(The cost of a three-year institutional subscription to the *American Sociological Review* will be \$2.00; and for all the publications of the Society, including *Sociometry*, \$3.00—payable as above.)

- (3) To supplement travel expenses for Asian sociologists who are in the United States and who wish to attend meetings of the American Sociological Society.

(Applicants must be at least at the graduate student level and may come from any Asian country from Afghanistan eastward. An applicant should write to the Chairman of the administering committee, as listed below. In his request the applicant should give his regular academic position, the nature of his study or visit in the United States, the meeting which he plans to attend, and the sum necessary for transportation to and from the meeting.)

The grant is being administered by a special committee composed of the following:

Professor Kingsley Davis, Department of Sociology and Social Institutions, University of California, Berkeley, California.

Professor Wolfram Eberhard, Department of Sociology and Social Institutions, University of California, Berkeley, California.

Professor Amos H. Hawley, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Professor Marion J. Levy, Jr., Department of Sociology, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

Professor Bryce F. Ryan, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Miami, Coral Gables 46, Florida.

THE PROFESSION: REPORTS AND OPINION

CONGRESSMEN, SOCIAL SCIENTISTS, AND ATTITUDES TOWARD FED- ERAL SUPPORT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH *

HARRY ALPERT

University of Oregon

The United States Senate just twelve years ago voted to exclude from the then pending bill to establish a National Science Foundation the specific provision which created a Division of the Social Sciences. In his report on the crucial Senate debate which preceded this vote, George A. Lundberg concluded that the outcome "should perhaps not be taken as reflecting any considered hostility or opposition on the part of the Senate, but simply as a reflection of the common feeling that the social and the physical sciences have nothing in common and that at best the social sciences are a propagandist, reformist, evangelical sort of cult."¹ At the same time, Lundberg expressed concern about social scientists being their own worst enemies by failing to recognize their proper function as scientists.²

Another interpretation of the Senate's action was presented more recently by former President Harry S. Truman. In commenting on the development of the social science program of the National Science Foundation as reported in *The Saturday Review* last February, Mr. Truman suggested that opposition to social science study on the part of members of Congress was the result of fear of the implications of the report "To Secure These Rights" which had been prepared by his special commission on civil rights. "The Southern Senators," Mr. Truman wrote, "were afraid of equality of education and equality of opportunity as set forth in [this] famous report."³

* This article is Dean Alpert's generous response to my suggestion that, after so ably serving the interests of the social sciences for many years in the National Science Foundation, he prepare a "retrospective" paper. Readers of the *Review* will agree, I am sure, that we are (once more) in Harry Alpert's debt.—*The Editor*.

¹ G. A. Lundberg, "The Senate Ponders Social Science," *The Scientific Monthly*, 64 (May, 1947), p. 399.

² *Ibid.*, p. 410.

³ H. S. Truman, *The Saturday Review*, 41 (March 1, 1958), p. 40.

I trust it is not an act of ingratitude, in view of President Truman's strong support of the social sciences, to suggest that there is apparently a telescoping of historical events in this version of the Senate controversy regarding the role of the social sciences in the proposed foundation. *To Secure These Rights* was published late in 1947, the Committee on Civil Rights having held meetings through September of that year. The critical vote in the Senate on Senator Hart's amendment to drop the social sciences took place on July 3, 1946, almost six months before President Truman established his Civil Rights Committee. Examination of the roll call on the Hart amendment does not support the view that the voting was regional in character and, obviously, it could not have been influenced by the report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights.

My own analysis of this important vote suggests: (1) the absence of a disciplined party position; (2) the operation of a complex multiplicity of motivations and attitudes; and (3) the effectiveness of the lobbying activities and personal representations of various individual natural scientists and of natural science groups and organizations such as the Committee Supporting the Bush reports.

Whatever may be the correct interpretation, the events of twelve years ago clearly indicate that the fate of public support of social science research, particularly at the Federal level, is dependent on the fundamental attitudes of key congressmen toward the social sciences, on clarification of the almost inevitable confusion of social science and social issues, and on the active and skillful participation of social scientists in the legislative process. Therefore this report directs attention to some of the more recent attitudes toward social science expressed by members of Congress and to the role of social scientists in effectively presenting to congressional committees the national importance of the positive contributions of social science research and education. An effort is also made to define some of the issues and problems which continue to serve as obstacles to the full acceptance of the social sciences.

An important turning point in congressional expressions toward the social sciences was the vigorous and forthright statement by Senator Estes Kefauver's Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency which late in 1955 and again in 1956 and 1957 strongly urged increased sup-

port of basic research in the social sciences and, in particular, recommended extension of the National Science Foundation's basic research and fellowship programs into the areas of human social behavior. Senator Kefauver wrote to the Director of the Foundation and to all members of the National Science Board, directing their attention to the recommendations of his Subcommittee. Also late in 1955, Representative Richard Bolling's Subcommittee on Economic Statistics of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report recommended expansion of the National Science Foundation's social science research program so as to include support of research in the area of economic statistics. In both instances, the Subcommittees gave sympathetic attention to the expert testimony of distinguished social scientists. Paul F. Lazarsfeld's views were presented to the delinquency committee and Martin Gainsburgh and Rensis Likert were leading witnesses before the economic statistics committee.

When the American Sociological Society passed official resolutions regarding support of the National Science Foundation's social science program, they were brought to the attention of Senator Jacob Javits who inserted them in the *Congressional Record*.

In the summer of 1957, Senator Hubert Humphrey, on returning from a trip to the Near East, made a strong plea for more generous support of the social sciences. Senator Humphrey remarked, a full year prior to the outbreak of the current crisis in the Middle East, that:

My recent experience in the Middle East has impressed upon me more than ever the urgency of getting on in the social sciences. There is immediate and crying need for trained and knowledgeable personnel to deal intelligently and rationally with a variety of social science problems. For example, the question of equitable distribution of agricultural surpluses, the need for better understanding of the obstacles and impediments to reasonable interpersonal and intergovernmental relations in the area, and insight into the mentalities and personalities of the individuals and masses with whom we have to deal. The effectiveness of our various assistance programs depends in large measure upon having reliable information about, and understanding of, the hopes, aspirations, motivations, and expectations of the peoples involved. In so many different ways there was impressed upon me the tremendous benefits which would accrue to us as a Nation from having available a well-trained corps of social-science technicians and experts.

I deem it essential, therefore, that the National Science Foundation set about with dispatch to broaden its research and fellowship programs in the social science. The needs are considerable.

...⁴

⁴ *Congressional Record*, July 9, 1957, p. 9969.

Senator Humphrey noted that his attention had been directed to this problem by Dr. Malcolm Willey of the University of Minnesota.

A month earlier, in similar vein, Senator Wayne Morse recommended greater emphasis on the social sciences and reproduced as part of his statement in support of expanded National Science Foundation appropriations the full text of communications he had received from Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. and Luther S. Cressman. Additional arguments for social science support were presented by Senator Morse later in the summer.⁵

The sense of crisis in American science and education created by the launching of Sputnik I last October affected the social sciences, too. In November, Vice-President Nixon initiated discussions with Dr. James G. Miller which led to the formation of a Temporary Group on National Support for Behavioral Science. Mr. Nixon was particularly concerned with maintaining our superiority vis-à-vis the Russians in the social and behavioral sciences. In a discussion during a dinner meeting of the Conference on University Contacts Abroad, Mr. Nixon stated that:

I think it is essential that we not make the mistake at this time of going overboard in developing or in putting emphasis on scientific and technical training to the exclusion of training in the social sciences and other fields. I say this because the greatest mistake we could make would be to become simply a pale carbon copy of the scientific materialism which the Soviet Union represents in the world today. We have something other to offer than simply leadership in the field of science. We must not be behind in that field, but we also have to train leaders in government, leaders in business, leaders in the social sciences.⁶

The report by Dr. Miller's group, "National Support for Behavioral Science," was presented to the President's Scientific Advisory Committee and was endorsed in principle by a number of senators and representatives of both parties with whom Dr. Miller discussed it. Senator Hubert Humphrey inserted the complete text of the report in the *Congressional Record*,⁷ and Dr. Miller offered a summary of it in testimony before the Subcommittee on the Independent Offices Appropriation Bill when it was hearing witnesses on the 1959 appropriation for the National Science Foundation. Senator Leverett Saltonstall expressed interest in the report and

⁵ *Congressional Record*, June 3, 1957, pp. 7348-51; June 12, 1957, p. 7966; August 26, 1957, pp. 14564-65.

⁶ *Higher Education and National Affairs*, 6 (December 2, 1957), p. 2.

⁷ *Congressional Record*, April 23, 1958, pp. 6252 ff.

requested the Director of the National Science Foundation to comment on it.

Senator Morse perhaps has been the most persistent legislator in urging support for the social sciences. Early this year he reproduced in the *Record*, with appropriate remarks, the complete text of the *Saturday Review* articles on the social sciences by Harry Alpert and Pendleton Herring and, in May, once again reiterated his strong feelings on the importance of the social sciences.⁸

On the House side, Representative Charles O. Porter of Oregon, in March, 1958, attempted by amendment of the fiscal year 1959 appropriation for the National Science Foundation, to double the amount included for social science research.⁹ Although the amendment did not prevail for parliamentary reasons, Mr. Porter was specifically advised by Representative Albert Thomas, chairman of the appropriations subcommittee which reviews the National Science Foundation's budgets, that his general purpose was an admirable one. Mr. Porter has placed in the *Record* an entertaining and instructive essay by Dr. Joseph Clawson on "Social Science—the Unused Weapon," as well as the cogent testimony presented before the Senate appropriations subcommittee by Dr. Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.¹⁰

Finally, another facet of the social science problem, namely, representation of the social sciences on the National Science Board, was discussed recently by Senator Morse. Reproducing a letter from Dr. Cottrell to President Eisenhower in which disappointment is expressed over the President's failure to appoint social scientists to the Board, Senator Morse commented, in part, as follows:

The National Science Board is a key body in guiding the progress of this Nation in the field of scientific research. I deplore the absence of social science representation and trust that the President will bear this in mind in future nominations. In approaching these nominations I hope that the Senate will convey to all members of the National Science Board its keen interest in the National Science Foundation and its hope that the Board will move forward vigorously in improving the state of what the *Saturday Review* called the knowledge we need most—increased research and studies that relate to man himself. . . . I shall continue to do everything I can in the Senate to support needed appropriations for the physical sciences. We certainly need to keep ahead of Russia in the development of scientific research in the whole field of natural science, but let me

warn the Senate that we also need to keep ahead of Russia in the field of social science. When we look at the educational program of Russia; when we look at the effort Russia is putting forth in the field of social sciences, we realize that in this field, too, we are beginning to lag behind Russia. Therefore, I think it is regrettable that the President has not nominated a social scientist to the Board of the National Science Foundation.¹¹

Moreover, a very penetrating and systematic analysis of the serious consequences of the failure to recognize the social sciences in National Science Board nominations was presented toward the end of the last session of Congress by Representative Porter.¹²

This account of recent congressional expressions of opinion is by no means complete, but is indicative of the growing positive interest in the social sciences. It underscores the importance of active participation of social scientists in the legislative process. Many of the statements and actions mentioned above are the immediate and direct result of personal appearances of social scientists before congressional groups, direct discussions with congressmen and members of their staffs, letters urging specific types of actions and votes, and communications of appreciation for favorable actions taken. It is axiomatic that legislators need to be informed of their constituents' feelings on particular issues. It is also elementary that they like to feel that their actions are commended and appreciated.

Still, it may be asked: With all this support, why are the social sciences not more advanced in the National Science Foundation and other governmental agencies? The answer lies in the persistence of many of the attitudes and viewpoints identified by Professor Lundberg a score of years ago.

In reviewing the types of objections to social science voiced by scientists, administrators, executives, and congressmen, I have been able to identify nine major themes or issues which appear with greatest frequency in the various debates and deliberations. The following summary statements of these issues and the accompanying comments are presented with special reference to the National Science Foundation, but they have, I believe, wider implications.

(1) *Vagueness*: One cannot identify the social sciences or know just where and how far one is going in a social science program, since the social sciences are vague and indefinite. *Comment*: While the phrase "social science" is used quite loosely in some quarters, it has been found possible to be both specific and concrete in identifying the precise areas of the social sciences

⁸ *Congressional Record*, February 4, 1958, pp. 1408-11; May 1, 1958, pp. 7049-50.

⁹ *Congressional Record*, March 27, 1958, pp. 4993-95.

¹⁰ *Congressional Record*, April 21, 1958, pp. A 3543-45; May 12, 1958, pp. A 4319-21.

¹¹ *Congressional Record*, May 28, 1958, p. 8727.

¹² *Congressional Record*, August 19, 1958, pp. 16986-89.

which are included in a program of research support. This has been achieved by identifying the program in terms of recognizable and established academic disciplines.

(2) *Controversy*: The social sciences involves areas of public controversy which might jeopardize an agency's general growth and development. *Comment*: The social sciences unquestionably involve areas of public controversy, but the experience of the National Science Foundation and other government agencies has demonstrated clearly that reliance on scientific methods and the scientific integrity of investigators can insure freedom from involvement in controversial areas.

(3) *Soft Areas*: The social sciences include activities which are scarcely identifiable as science and are more concerned with considerations of ethics, welfare, and philosophical interpretations of man's destiny. *Comment*: The term "social sciences" covers a wide range of activities. These activities may be thought of in terms of a continuum. At one end of the continuum lie the hard-core scientific studies of human social behavior. These include the use of experimental techniques, controlled experiments, laboratory studies, statistical and mathematical methods, survey design techniques, the development of measurement devices and instruments such as standardized tests and scales, the empirical testing of hypotheses and concepts, and other characteristic features of scientific research. At the other end of the continuum lie philosophical, ethical, and political studies and interpretations of human social conduct, including interpretations of social welfare, concern with the amelioration of social conditions and the elimination of social problems, and similar considerations relating to social values and the good life. A social science program within the general framework of scientific objectives can properly be limited to the hard-core scientific end of the continuum.

(4) *Debasement of Human Dignity*: Social science provides powerful weapons for "hidden persuaders," "brainwashers," and other manipulators of human populations and permits them to direct and control human lives. *Comment*: The social sciences do not differ from the natural sciences in the utilization of scientific knowledge. The scientist provides fundamental knowledge. The objectives toward which that knowledge is directed are beyond his immediate control and are determined by a complex of societal forces. Whether the atom is used for peace or destruction, whether bacteria are mobilized for purposes of health or disease, whether knowledge of human motivations is used to provide happiness or to sell soap, are alternatives which the scientist

as seeker of knowledge and truth cannot determine. It should also be noted that one of the best defenses against the manipulators of the human spirit is the understanding of their techniques and weapons which social science provides.

(5) *Partisanship*: The social sciences are in early stage of development as sciences and hence are characterized by schools, philosophies, and perspectives, each of which has its group of ardent supporters and detractors. It is difficult to avoid dogmatic partisanship for a particular viewpoint. *Comment*: By careful selection of Advisory Panel members and research referees who are catholic and broad in their orientation to their respective social science disciplines, discrimination based on narrow partisanship can be avoided. There is ample evidence that the quality of men and of proposals can be identified regardless of one's own commitments to this or that school of thought or approach.

(6) *Applied Research*: The social sciences are applied and practical and therefore have no place in a program dedicated to support of basic research and education. *Comment*: Like other scientific disciplines, the social sciences have an identifiable basic or fundamental component as well as an applied or developmental orientation. Although the line between basic and applied research is often difficult to draw in many scientific areas, experience over several years has indicated the possibility of a satisfactory operating division of labor between agencies supporting fundamental explorations of the unknown in social science and those whose major responsibilities lie in applied areas such as mental health, delinquency, marketing, social security, and illegitimacy.

(7) *Magnitude*: The needs of the social sciences are tremendous and consequently a social science program would make heavy and disproportionate demands on an agency dedicated to promoting the advancement of science in all fields. *Comment*: A major limiting factor in the ability of a scientific field to spend funds expeditiously and fruitfully is the available supply of trained personnel in that field. The manpower differentials between the social sciences and other sciences are such that the social sciences could profitably command only a small percentage of the total funds available for research. In the United States there are approximately 35,000 social scientists in comparison with 250,000 physical and biological scientists, and over 600,000 engineers.

(8) *Private Resources*: Private resources support the social sciences quite adequately; hence, there is no need for a Federal program

in the social sciences. *Comment:* Analysis of the activities of the major private foundations supporting the social sciences indicates that the programs of these foundations, in large measure, are problem-oriented and training-oriented rather than research-oriented. Moreover, when the Ford Foundation became active a few years ago, some of the other large foundations modified their programs by placing far less emphasis on the behavioral and social sciences. Last year, the Ford Foundation discontinued its Behavioral Sciences Division, thus eliminating a major source of private support of social science. It should also be noted that certain social science and interdisciplinary areas are not normally included in private foundation programs or have been drastically curtailed in recent years.

(9) *Separate Agency:* The Federal Government should support the social sciences, but not through the same agency which supports the natural sciences. *Comment:* There are numerous advantages, as pointed out by Dr. Vannevar Bush,¹³ in the intimate association of the natural sciences and social sciences. There is a unity of scientific method and scientific outlook from which all the sciences benefit. Moreover, the distinction between the natural and social sciences is not clear-cut. Considerable areas of overlap exist in such disciplines as geography, anthropology, psychology, statistics, and mathematical social science. Separate agencies would involve unnecessary duplication of effort and complicate the problems of coordination.

Despite these various arguments, the National Science Foundation has a social science research program¹⁴ and overall governmental expenditures for research and development in the social sciences have been steadily increasing in recent years.¹⁵ The sociologist of science will one day marvel at the extent, variety, and depth of the resistances to the application of rational intelligence and scientific method to the understanding of the nature of man's social behavior. And a latter-day Vilfredo Pareto, with some

psychiatric sophistication, will delight in recording the derivations and rationalizations which man has invented to keep himself from a better understanding of his own nature and his social environment.

Yet, the exigencies of social living in contemporary society are developing their own momentum and are overcoming the resistances to social science at a rate which would have seemed incredible a short decade ago. But social forces operate only through individuals and it is the individual social scientist who must undertake the professional tasks which will insure reasonable support of the sciences of man. At various universities, when asked what the individual teacher of social science can do to enhance public support and understanding of his discipline, I have invariably replied: Teach as if every student in your class is a potential legislator who will one day have to vote on an appropriation for your discipline.

LAWYERS, POLITICAL SCIENTISTS, SOCIOLOGISTS—AND CONCEALED MICROPHONES *

WALDO W. BURCHARD

Northern Illinois University

This is the second¹ of a series of papers reporting the substantive findings of a project designed to ascertain the attitudes of the members of three professional groups—lawyers, political scientists, and sociologists—towards the use of concealed listening devices as a means of gathering data for social science research purposes. The focus of this report is on the use of concealed microphones for the purpose of studying the jury in action. It was undertaken in an effort to determine the extent of agreement or disagreement with editors' and commentators' criticisms of the use of a concealed microphone by the University of Chicago Law School's Jury Research Team in pursuit of its study of the jury in America.

The case in question involves the playing of recordings of jury deliberations made in the spring of 1954 in a federal court jury room at Wichita, Kansas, at the annual Judicial Conference of the 10th Judicial Circuit at Estes Park, Colorado, in July 1955. The recordings

¹³ Hearings on Science Legislation (S. 1297 and Related Bills), *Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs, U. S. Senate, 79th Congress, 1st Session*, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1945, p. 200.

¹⁴ See Harry Alpert, "The Social Science Research Program of the National Science Foundation," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (October, 1957), pp. 582-585; and "The Knowledge We Need Most," *The Saturday Review*, 41 (February 1, 1958), pp. 36-38.

¹⁵ I am indebted to Mrs. Bertha W. Rubinstein of the National Science Foundation for making available her unpublished trend analysis of federal expenditures in the social sciences.

* Revised version of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Washington, D. C., August, 1957.

¹ There are three papers in the series, each of which discusses a separate portion of the data gathered.

had been made by means of a microphone concealed in the jury room, with the knowledge and consent of the judge and the attorneys involved in the cases, but without the knowledge of the jurymen. This technique was used in the hope that the study of the actual proceedings of a jury in action would add to the knowledge and insights already gained by other means.² The recordings which were played at the Conference were "masked," that is, they had been edited so that neither the time, the place, the case under consideration, nor the individual jurymen could be identified. The audience, which consisted of over 200 members of the legal profession, was fully informed as to the nature of the recordings and the precautions that had been employed to insure the anonymity of persons and places involved. It was not until early in October, some three months later, that a story in the *Los Angeles Times* set off a nation-wide outcry against the "bugging" of the jury room.

Within a few days, editors, columnists, and radio commentators from coast to coast had condemned the use of concealed microphones in making such studies; and in a short time a Senate subcommittee had investigated the matter, with the avowed intention of seeking legislation to prevent further use of concealed microphones in jury rooms.³ These critics raised questions concerning the legality and the propriety of this type of investigation, and several of them called for legal action of some sort against various persons or agencies involved—the foundation which financed the research, the university which sponsored it, the individuals who carried out the project, the judge and the lawyers in whose court the recordings were made. Typically, they either omitted reference to the fact that the recordings had been edited or played down the importance of the editing, implying either that no such safeguards had

been taken or that they would necessarily be ineffective. The fact that the persons who made the recordings were competent social scientists pursuing a serious study of an important American institution appeared to make no difference to the critics.

The attitudes of these critics reflect a basic distrust of social science and social scientists that should be of concern to persons in the field, and particularly to sociologists, who engage more extensively in research making use of techniques of this type than most other social scientists. If social research is to continue, it must have public support, which means, in part, that it must have newspaper support. The fact that the adverse criticism of editors and commentators went almost entirely unanswered in the public press⁴ probably means that social scientists have not yet found an effective way of convincing the public and, perhaps more important, the moulders of popular opinion of the propriety, utility, and most of all, the sincerity of their efforts. The fact that nearly three months elapsed between the playing of the recordings and the public announcement of the event implies that those members of the legal profession who heard the records were not overly disturbed by them. But the failure to defend the use of such devices in the pursuit of social science research raises important questions about the extent of support for it.

In order to seek answers to these questions, 900 questionnaires were sent to members of three professions—lawyers, political scientists, and sociologists—300 to each group.⁵ Completed questionnaires were received from 128 lawyers, 114 political scientists, and 171 sociologists. The questionnaire consisted of 70 propositions referring to juries, jury studies, the use of concealed devices in jury research, social science research in general, and responsibility for social science research. The respondents were asked to answer each proposition according to a five-point scale—Strongly Agree, Mildly Agree, No Opin-

² The jury study of the University of Chicago Law School is a long-range project, of which the recording of jury deliberations is only a part. The "other means" include questionnaires sent to judges, a public opinion survey, interviews with judges, lawyers, and jurymen, and the use of experimental juries to decide mock cases. See Glenn W. Ferguson, "Legal Research on Trial," in *Journal of the American Judicature Society*, 39, (October-December, 1955), pp. 78-87.

³ Such legislation was introduced by Senators Eastland and Jenner, passed both houses without opposition, and was signed by the President on August 2, 1956. Public Law 919 provides for a fine of not more than 1,000 dollars or imprisonment of not more than one year, or both, for anyone not a member of the jury to record, observe, or listen to the proceedings of a United States jury while it is deliberating or voting.

⁴ Members of the research team, of course, defended their actions before the Senate subcommittee, in interviews, in speeches, and in articles. At least one popular newspaper columnist, Fred Othman, had a good word to say for the use of concealed microphones. Nonetheless, the overwhelming bulk of commentary was unfavorable.

⁵ The opinions of lawyers, political scientists, and sociologists do not, of course, reflect the extent of public support for the use of concealed research techniques. Given limited research support, it seemed desirable to start at this point. Moreover, these three occupations were chosen because it seemed likely that they would be the professions most interested.

TABLE 1. AVERAGE RESPONSE, IN PERCENTAGES, OF LAWYERS, POLITICAL SCIENTISTS, AND SOCIOLOGISTS TO SELECTED ITEMS CONCERNING PUBLIC REACTION TO THE USE OF CONCEALED MICROPHONES AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ACTIONS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCHERS *

	Lawyers		Pol. Scientists		Sociologists	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
1. Average response to eight statements anticipating unfavorable public reaction	63	27	40	43	32	49
2. Average response to three statements anticipating favorable public reaction	37	47	63	22	72	18
3. Average response to five statements biased against the use of concealed microphones	32	49	16	73	13	76
4. The researcher alone is responsible for his actions	24	53	39	50	36	45
5. To surrender unedited recordings to an outside party violates the canons of social science research **	66	3	74	6	85	5
6. The judge had no authority to order the recordings played ***	65	12	39	24	45	16
7. A researcher should surrender information when ordered to do so by a judge	39	41	19	64	10	74
8. It is better to face prosecution than to risk identifying informants	39	36	53	21	80	9

* Answers of Strongly Agree and Mildly Agree are combined under the single heading, Agree; likewise, Mildly Disagree and Strongly Disagree are combined under Disagree. No Opinion answers and failures to respond, which account for the fact that the percentages do not total 100, are not shown.

** See note 8, page 689.

*** See note 9, page 690.

ion (or Neutral), Mildly Disagree, and Strongly Disagree.⁶

Expectations which guided the study were that there would be a considerable divergence of opinion between editors and commentators, on the one hand, and lawyers, political scientists, and sociologists, on the other; and that there would also be a divergence of opinion among the members of the three professional groups, with lawyers showing least approval of this type of research, and sociologists showing most approval.

In the first paper of the series, findings were reported which indicate that political scientists and sociologists approve of the use of concealed devices in jury research (and, by implication, in social science research in general) by a large majority, and that lawyers are about evenly divided in their approval and disapproval. Clearly, the opinions of these professional people are at variance with those of editors and commentators. It was suggested there that perhaps social scientists should seek some more direct

means of communicating with the public than is available at the present time.

This paper reports briefly on two selected aspects of the study: the possible public reaction to the use of secret listening devices; and the question of the responsibility of social science researchers.

Eleven items in the questionnaire deal with the respondents' estimates of the probable reactions of jurors and of the public at large to the use of concealed microphones in a jury room for research purposes. Eight of the items express the fear that the public will react unfavorably to the use of such devices, that, if used, jurors will be reluctant to serve or, if serving, to express their honest opinions, and that the processes of justice will thereby be impeded. Three of the items express the belief that the proper use of concealed microphones would not reveal the identities of individuals and that jurors, if they knew the purposes of the recordings, would not be reluctant to express their honest opinions.

The average response, in percentages, of all respondents in each group to the eight items which anticipate unfavorable public reaction to the use of concealed microphones in jury research, is shown on line 1, Table 1. Line 2 gives the average response to the three items anticipat-

⁶ See the first paper in the series, "A Study of Attitudes Toward the Use of Concealed Devices in Social Science Research," *Social Forces*, 36 (December, 1957), pp. 111-116, for a more complete discussion of the manner in which the study was carried out.

ing a favorable public reaction. As these figures indicate, a considerably larger proportion of lawyers than of either political scientists or sociologists would anticipate unfavorable public reaction. These findings are consistent with the expectations stated above. Of course, anticipation of favorable public reaction does not necessarily imply greater approval of the action, but it may be reasoned that those who approve of a certain action will, in some measure, also expect others to approve it.

There is a temptation here to speculate that lawyers are more conservative than political scientists and sociologists and, indeed, this may be the case. It may also be true that lawyers, whose occupation often brings them into close contact with the public, are in a relatively better position to gauge public reactions offhand.

Ten items of the questionnaire dealt with responsibility for the conduct of the jury research. Some items asserted that institutions, such as the foundation which financed the research, the court in which it was carried out, or the university which sponsored it, should be held responsible for the conduct of the research. Other items stated that the individuals who carried out the research were responsible for it, and that courts and other institutions should not interfere with or "police" the research. Five of these items were judged to be biased against the use of concealed devices, and five were considered to be neutral—that is, biased neither for nor against their use in jury research.⁷

Line 3 of Table 1 gives the average response of all respondents in the three groups to the five unfavorably biased items. These figures show that considerably less than a majority of respondents in any of the three groups agreed with the assertions, while a strong majority of both political scientists and sociologists disagreed with them. Only 13 per cent of the sociologists, 16 per cent of the political scientists, and 32 per cent of the lawyers felt that foundations, universities, courts, judges, or lawyers ought to be held responsible for jury research. On the other hand, 76 per cent of the sociologists, 73 per cent of the political scientists, and 49 per cent of the lawyers felt that these persons or institutions should not be held responsible.

The replies summarized on lines 1, 2, and 3 of Table 1 all follow a consistent pattern. Where the average given in the table shows that a higher percentage of lawyers, a lower percentage of political scientists, and the lowest percentage of sociologists agreed to a certain set of items, the replies to each of the items are

in similar order—highest for lawyers, next highest for political scientists, and lowest for sociologists. Only one item, concerning the anticipation of unfavorable public reaction (line 1), is an exception to this pattern, with the positions of political scientists and sociologists reversed by about two percentage points. Those items which are not biased in either direction, however, do not follow a consistent pattern, and cannot be readily summarized in a single entry. Therefore the replies to each of the items will be presented briefly.

Line 4 of Table 1 gives the responses to the statement, "The persons who carried out the jury research are the only persons responsible for their actions." These figures indicate that a larger percentage of the respondents in each of the three groups disagreed than agreed, leading to the conclusion that half or more, in the cases of lawyers and political scientists, and nearly half in the case of sociologists, feel that the individual person or persons who carry out a research project do not bear the full responsibility for the conduct of the research. This is not to overlook the fact that a large minority, over one-third in the cases of political scientists and sociologists, and nearly one-fourth in the case of lawyers, seem to feel that the responsibility is entirely that of the individual researcher or researchers. This does not appear to be consistent with the replies shown in line 3, where 76 per cent of the sociologists, 73 per cent of the political scientists, and 49 per cent of the lawyers are shown to feel that foundations, universities, courts, judges, or lawyers should not be held responsible. This discrepancy raises questions concerning shared responsibility which are not discussed in this paper.

Although fewer than half the respondents indicated that the individual researcher bears full responsibility for the conduct of his research, a large majority noted that he is obliged to respect and protect the anonymity of his informants. The responses to the statement, "The researchers who surrendered their unedited recordings to a party outside the research team violated one of the canons of social science research, namely, to respect and preserve the anonymity of their informants,"⁸ are shown in line 5. The high percentage of respondents in

⁸ The researchers did not surrender unedited recordings to anyone. This fact was not pointed out by newspaper accounts, and much of the criticism was based on the assumption that individual jurors might be identified in the playback of the recordings. The recordings played at the annual conference of the 10th Judicial Circuit at Estes Park, Colorado, in the summer of 1955, had been edited so that no such identification was possible. (Letter from a member of the research team.)

⁷ These judgments were made by nine disinterested persons.

all three groups who agreed with this assertion points to a strong belief that the researcher himself is responsible for at least this part of the investigation.

In response to the statement, "The judge who ordered the recordings to be played at a meeting of lawyers and judges exceeded his authority in requiring such information to be revealed,"⁹ 65 per cent of the lawyers, but fewer than half the political scientists and sociologists, agreed (line 6); in fact, a greater proportion of lawyers than of either political scientists or sociologists both agreed and gave a definite response to the statement. According to the comments of some of the respondents, this assertion was interpreted as a question of legal fact, the responses of lawyers no doubt reflecting their greater acquaintance with the law as well as their personal opinions. The high proportion of "No Opinion" answers and failures to respond on the part of political scientists and sociologists, conversely, probably reflects in part their limited familiarity with the law. To the writer's knowledge, this question was not raised by editors and commentators in their criticisms of the jury study. The judge in whose court the study was carried out was generally condemned, and both his right to permit such a study and its propriety were questioned. However, no one questioned the right of a judge to order persons possessing confidential information to make such information public. The questions debated by editors and commentators concerned the legality and the propriety of *gathering*—not revealing it, subsequently—certain confidential information. It was assumed that such information, once gathered, would be made public as a matter of course.

This is a gratuitous and a disturbing assumption, and the basic distrust of social scientists reflected by it should be alarming to those interested in social research. The right of such professionals as attorneys, physicians, and clergymen to gather and use confidential information in the pursuit of their occupations has been long established. There is no basis in fact for the assumption or implication that social scientists are any less concerned with professional ethics. Since much of their work depends on the use of confidential information, social scientists should, perhaps, take steps to establish the legality of their information-getting techniques and to secure their legal right (and duty) to keep such information confidential.

The adoption of a formal code of ethics, out-

lining the responsibilities of the researcher to his informants and to the public at large, to which every social scientist would be required to subscribe, if sufficiently publicized, might achieve the desired results. Perhaps an oath, similar to the Hippocratic oath of medicine, would help to allay public suspicion. Possibly, a system of licensing (controlled by social scientists) would provide assurance that social scientists are trustworthy. These are suggestions based on the belief that something should be done, and quickly, to bolster the confidence of the public in the activities of the social science researcher.

What is needed most of all, of course, are practical demonstrations of the beneficial effects of social research. Unfortunately, there are many cases, of which the jury study is one, where it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to demonstrate such effects. And in a field where tradition is strong, unless the utility of scientific knowledge can be readily established, tradition continues to hold sway. He who ventures in does so at his peril.¹⁰

What do the questionnaire returns tell us about the individual researcher and his legal and moral responsibilities with respect to the information he has gathered and to the individuals who reveal such information? In response to the statement, "When ordered to do so by a judge, a social science researcher should always surrender whatever information he has," lawyers were about evenly divided in their opinions, while political scientists and sociologists were apt to feel strongly that a researcher should not always surrender his information, even when an authority such as a judge orders him to do so (line 7, Table 1).

The matter appeared in a slightly different light when the respondent faced the proposition: "A social science researcher should be prepared to face legal prosecution rather than risk revealing the identities of his informants." Thirty-nine per cent of the lawyers, 53 per cent of the political scientists, and 80 per cent of the sociologists agreed, as shown on line 8. Comparison of the figures on lines 7 and 8 shows that while 41 per cent and 64 per cent of the lawyers and political scientists, respectively, indicated that a researcher should not always surrender information when ordered to do so by a judge, only 39 per cent and 53 per cent, respectively, believed that he should go so far as to risk legal prosecution over the matter. On

⁹ The judge did not "order" the jury research team to play the recordings, as was stated in a story released by one of the national news services; rather, he invited them to do so. (Statement by a member of the research team.)

¹⁰ And at the peril of a great many others, too. Further legislation like Public Law 919 might drive us back to the arm-chair. No criticism of the Chicago research team is intended here—the project was well-done, properly safeguarded, and essential for the study.

the other hand, while 74 per cent of the sociologists felt that a researcher should not always surrender information when ordered to do so by a judge (emphasis here probably should be placed on "always"), 80 per cent of them indicated that he should risk prosecution if revealing the information would also expose the identity of the informant. This response suggests the possibility that the sociologists have a stronger sense of individual responsibility with respect to research than the other members of the

sample, deriving perhaps from their greater interest in social science research *per se*.

The reasons for the failure of a large proportion of the sample to complete and return the questionnaires are unknown. So also are their attitudes. Consequently, it should not be assumed that the respondents represent a fair cross section of the populations sampled, although the range of replies give some support to that assumption. Caution should therefore be used in interpreting the findings.

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 53RD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, HELD AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, AUGUST 27, 28, 29, 1958

First Meeting of the 1958 Council August 26, 1958

The first Seattle meeting of the 1958 Council was called to order on August 26, 1958, at 10 a.m. by President Robin M. Williams, Jr. The following members of the 1958 Council were present: Harry Alpert, Robert Bierstedt, Hugh Carter, John Clausen, Leonard Cottrell, W. F. Cottrell, Kingsley Davis, Robert Faris, John Foskett, Amos Hawley, Reuben Hill, Robert Merton, Charles Page, William Sewell, Raymond Sletto, Marion Smith, Wellman Warner, Robin Williams, Donald Young, and Matilda Riley, *ex officio*. The following members of the 1959 Council were also able to be present: Charles P. Loomis, Wilbert Moore, John Riley, Irwin Sanders, and T. Lynn Smith. Also present were: Robert Angell, Raymond Bowers, Wilbur Brookover, Dudley Kirk, Otto Larsen, and Elbridge Sibley.

1. Consideration of reports of Editors, Committee Chairmen, and Representatives, as preprinted from the December, 1958 *Review*, resulted in the following actions:

- (a) The number of Associate Editors of the *Review* is to be increased to fifteen.
- (b) The Editor of the *Review* is encouraged to invite manuscripts whenever in his judgment the quality of the publication might be improved by this procedure.
- (c) The Employment Bulletin is to be published as a separate supplement to the *Review* if, in the judgment of the Publications Committee and the Executive Office, this seems to be desirable and feasible.
- (d) It was announced that negotiations had been completed, following Council balloting,

whereby John Clausen will be the next Editor of *Sociometry*. He will take office next July.

- (e) A resolution of commendation and thanks to Leonard S. Cottrell for his services as the Editor of *Sociometry* was written into the record.
- (f) The possibility of joint membership arrangements with the affiliated societies was considered, together with possible special membership arrangements for student members of Alpha Kappa Delta. All questions of joint membership were referred to the incoming President and the 1959 Executive Committee.
- (g) The appropriate officers of the Society were asked to explore the possibilities of obtaining financial support for a study of graduate training in sociology as suggested by the Committee on Training and Professional Standards.
- (h) The experimental plan for an employment service which has been developed by the 1958 Local Arrangements Committee in co-operation with the Washington State Employment Service is to receive careful study as a possible model for future meetings.
- (i) In line with the new By-Laws, all members of the Society who were Active members in 1954 or earlier are to be automatically reclassified as Fellows of the Society, except that those whose Active status rested upon academic achievement or experience in related fields shall have the option of becoming Fellows or remaining Active members. This will depend in each case on whether or not the individual considers himself to have major commitment to the field of sociology.
- (j) An appropriate certificate is to be issued to each Fellow of the Society.
- (k) The possibility of reduced dues for foreign

members was referred to the Executive Committee with a request for prompt action.

- (l) The Society's delegates to the International Sociological Association were instructed to tender an invitation to that Association to meet in this country in 1962. The officers were authorized to solicit funds to subsidize such a meeting, and the 1959 President was asked to appoint a committee to make the necessary arrangements.
- (m) The Committee on Relations with Sociologists in Other Countries was asked to prepare a panel of sociologists from other countries who might be invited by the Executive Committee to attend future meetings of the Society.
- (n) It was agreed that the Society petition the UNESCO Department of Social Sciences or the International Sociological Association to prepare a complete roster of sociologists by countries, containing name, address and special field(s). Copies of this roster should be made available for a small fee.
- (o) The suggestion from the Liaison Committee for Sociology and Education that the Society negotiate for the *Journal of Educational Sociology* was referred to the Publications Committee for study and report.
- (p) The Council approved the campaign of its Representative to the Council of Census Users to obtain release of available census materials on religious preference.
- (q) All other Committee reports and reports of Representatives which required no action were accepted as received.

2. A Resolutions Committee for the 1958 meetings was elected: Harry Alpert, *Chairman*; Reuben Hill and John Riley.

3. Further consideration of a proposed By-Law change in the method of electing Council members representing affiliated societies was postponed. A luncheon meeting, however, has been scheduled, at which time this matter and other questions of mutual interest will be discussed with the officers of affiliated societies, and President Williams was asked to report directly to the 1959 Council following the luncheon.

4. Also to be discussed at this luncheon meeting and reported to the Council is a recommendation from the Midwest Sociological Society that there be greater coordination between the regional and the national organizations.

5. Several applications for Life membership which were received after the publication of the proposals for the recently enacted new dues structure will be honored.

6. The Council voted to take no action at the present time on a proposal to rehouse the Society's headquarters in Washington, D. C.

7. The Council voted to authorize the Committee on the MacIver Award to make its report directly to the President.

8. It was recommended that the necessary constitutional and legal steps be taken for a possible change in the name of the Society from the Ameri-

can Sociological Society to the American Sociological Association.

The meeting was declared adjourned at 5 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
WELLMAN J. WARNER, *Secretary*

*Second Meeting of the 1958 Council
August 27, 1958*

The second meeting of the 1958 Council was called to order on August 27 at 4:30 p.m. by President Robin Williams. The following members were present: Harry Alpert, Reinhard Bendix, Robert Bierstedt, Hugh Carter, John Clausen, Leonard Cottrell, W. F. Cottrell, Robert Faris, John Foskett, Amos Hawley, Reuben Hill, Robert Merton, Charles Page, William Sewell, Raymond Sletto, Marion Smith, Wellman Warner, Robin Williams, Donald Young, and Matilda Riley, *ex officio*. The following members of the 1959 Council were also able to be present: George Homans, Rex Hopper, Charles Loomis, Wilbert Moore, John Riley, Irwin Sanders, and T. Lynn Smith. Also present were: Raymond Bowers and Dudley Kirk.

1. In order to maintain continuity in the work of the Committee on Training and Professional Standards, two members with terms expiring in 1958, Elbridge Sibley and Leonard Cottrell, are to be carried over to the 1959 Committee.

2. The Council received a report of the 1958 Program Committee on policies which minimize multiple participation by given individuals, and referred it to the incoming President.

3. An application by a group of over 200 members for recognition as a Section on Social Psychology was unanimously approved.

4. The Executive Committee was requested to give further specific consideration to possible rules and procedures for Sections, both present and impending. The Executive Committee is to report back to the Council on this matter.

5. A recommendation from the Committee on Implications of Legislation that Certifies Psychologists that a sociologist be appointed and given travel funds to deal with problems as they arise was referred favorably to the incoming Council.

6. The mandate to the Committee on Implications of Legislation was broadened in order to make it a Committee on the Profession, and this Committee was asked to prepare and submit a budget for its expanded activities.

The meeting was adjourned at 5:30 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
WELLMAN J. WARNER, *Secretary*

Meeting of the 1959 Council August 28, 1958

The Seattle meeting of the 1959 Council was called to order by President Kingsley Davis at 4:30 P.M. The following members were pres-

ent: Harry Alpert, John Clausen, W. F. Cottrell, Kingsley Davis, Robert Faris, John Foskett, George Homans, Rex Hopper, Charles Loomis, Robert Merton, Wilbert Moore, Charles Page, John Riley, Irwin Sanders, Raymond Sletto, Marion Smith, T. Lynn Smith, Robin M. Williams, Donald Young; Matilda Riley, *ex officio*. Also present were: Reinhard Bendix, Raymond Bowers, Leonard Cottrell, Dudley Kirk, and Wellman Warner.

1. Candidates for Council elections were proposed by a Committee on Committees consisting of Robert Faris, Chairman; Wilbert Moore, and Preston Valien. This Committee had polled the Council for suggestions in advance. The following persons were elected to the posts indicated:

Executive Committee: W. F. Cottrell, John Riley, Irwin Sanders.

Associate Editors of the Review: Robert Dubin, George Homans, Morris Janowitz, Robert McGinnis, Louis Schneider (for three years); Albert Cohen (for two years); Kaspar Naegle (for one year).

Associate Editors of Sociometry: Edgar Borgatta, Launor Carter, Erving Goffman, Guy Swanson.

Budget Committee: Conrad Taeuber.

Classification Committee: Wellman Warner.

1960 Program Committee: Robert Bierstedt, Theodore Caplow.

Committee on Training and Professional Standards: Leonard Cottrell, Elbridge Sibley.

Representative to American Association for the Advancement of Science: Conrad Taeuber.

Director of the Social Science Research Council: Robin Williams.

2. The President was authorized to designate the chairmen of those committees for which the chairmanship was not already provided.

3. The Committee on Committees is to submit its nominations for *ad hoc* committee membership directly to the President, and the President shall appoint members of these committees from these nominations.

4. Following a report from Robin Williams on the Luncheon of Officers of Affiliated Societies, the Council voted to encourage the incoming President to appoint an advisory group to confer with him on relations with affiliated societies.

5. The report of the Resolutions Committee, read by Harry Alpert, was approved by the Council for recommendation to the membership.

6. The meeting was adjourned at 5:45 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

DONALD YOUNG, *Secretary*

Minutes of the Business Meetings of the Society

The first Seattle Business Meeting of the Society was called to order August 28, 1958, at 11 a.m. by President Robin Williams.

The Minutes of the Seattle Council meetings, August 26 and 27, were read by the Secretary.

A number of significant actions taken by the Society, the Council, and the various Committees were discussed by the President.

The membership of the 1959 Committee on Nominations and Elections as appointed by President-Elect Kingsley Davis was announced as follows:

Robin Williams, Chairman; Gordon W. Blackwell, Donald R. Cressey, Walter Firey, E. Franklin Frazier, Neal Gross, Oswald Hall, Reuben Hill, Everett C. Hughes, Alex Inkeles, Ira DeA. Reid, Bryce Ryan, Philip Selznick, Guy E. Swanson, William A. Westley.

Robert Angell reported on the procedure for handling the Social Science Research Council grants for travel to the 1959 meeting of the International Sociological Association.

Amos Hawley discussed a number of the problems entailed by the legislation which certifies or licenses psychologists.

The meeting was adjourned at 12 noon.

Respectfully submitted,

WELLMAN J. WARNER, *Secretary*

The second Seattle Business Meeting of the Society was called to order August 29, 1958, at 11 a.m. by President Williams.

It was announced that registration at the meetings had reached 676, with an additional 140 complimentary registrants.

The following resolutions, as proposed by the Resolutions Committee, were accepted:

1. Whereas the Society recognizes that the success of its Fifty-third Annual Meeting is in large part due to the careful, industrious, and efficient efforts of the Local Arrangements Committee,

Be it resolved that the Society express to the Local Arrangements Committee of 1958, and particularly to its Co-chairmen, Professors Robert E. L. Faris and Otto N. Larsen, and to its dedicated Sub-chairmen: Ernest A. T. Barth, Santo F. Camilleri, William R. Catton, Jr., Donald P. Hayes, J. Robert Larson, William R. Larson, L. Wesley Wager, Glenn Walker, Richard Meile, Stuart Johnson and Joseph Rogers, its heartfelt appreciation for a superb job well done;

Be it further resolved that the Secretary be instructed to address to each member of the Local Arrangements Committee of 1958 a letter of thanks and appreciation on behalf of the Society.

2. Whereas the American Sociological Society has enjoyed for its Fifty-third Annual Meeting the cordial hospitality of the University of Washington,

Be it resolved that the Society express to the University of Washington its deep appreciation for the warm welcome it has received, for the generous use of the University's facilities, and for the friendly cooperation it has enjoyed;

Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to President Odegaard and other appropriate officials at the University.

3. Whereas Professors Morroe Berger, Theodore Abel and Charles H. Page have graciously and generously donated to the Society for the MacIver Award their own royalties of several hundreds of dollars accruing from the publication of their MacIver symposium volume entitled, *Freedom and Control in Modern Society*,

Be it resolved that the American Sociological Society express to Professors Berger, Abel, and Page its appreciation and thanks for their kindness and consideration in making this contribution;

And be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be forwarded to Professor MacIver, to the three editors, and to the authors of this symposium volume.

4. Whereas Professor Robert K. Merton has with skill and dedication effectively concluded arrangements with Basic Books for the publication, in association with the Society, of a symposium volume entitled, *Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects*;

Whereas the publication of this volume will redound to the intellectual, professional, and financial benefit of the Society,

Be it resolved that the American Sociological Society express its special appreciation to Professor Merton for this brilliant and efficient contribution to the Society's progress and welfare.

5. Whereas Professor Wellman J. Warner has performed the duties of Secretary of the Society with a quiet and modest efficiency;

Whereas Professor Warner has been largely instrumental in the development of the professional stature of the Society;

Whereas he has given evidence of dedication and devotion to the best interests of the Society beyond the call of duty;

Whereas he has worked unstintingly to provide the Society with appropriate national headquarters and to create by personal example a spirit of unselfish devotion to the needs of the Society's membership;

Whereas he has guided effectively many of the studies and publications of the Society;

Be it resolved that the American Sociological Society express its very deep appreciation and its special thanks to Professor Warner for his many years of successful service as Secretary of the Society.

6. Whereas Dr. Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. has performed outstandingly as Editor of *Sociometry* and has established this official journal of the Society as a significant periodical of the highest quality;

Whereas Dr. Cottrell has maintained rigorous editorial and scientific standards for *Sociometry* during a difficult period of transition;

Be it resolved that the American Sociological Society convey to Dr. Cottrell its expression of profoundest appreciation for his leadership and outstanding service to the Society as Editor of *Sociometry*.

7. Whereas Representative Charles O. Porter of Oregon has attempted on the floor of the House of

Representatives to increase the appropriation for support of social science research by the National Science Foundation;

Whereas Representative Porter has urged appropriate representation of the social sciences on the National Science Board and has in other ways evidenced his sympathetic understanding of the valuable contributions the social sciences can make to the national welfare;

Be it resolved that the American Sociological Society express to Congressman Porter its sincere thanks for his numerous efforts to strengthen the role of the Federal government with respect to support of training and research in the social sciences.

8. Whereas the American Sociological Society welcomed as an important contribution to scientific knowledge about American society the publication by the Bureau of the Census of some of the results of the information it had gathered on a voluntary basis in 1957 regarding the religious preferences expressed by the American public;

Whereas the Society regards this information as invaluable for purposes of social research and community planning in view of the decision of the Bureau of the Census not to include an inquiry on religious preference in the 1960 Decennial Census;

Whereas the Society has been advised by its representative to the Council of Census Users that the Department of Commerce has refused to make available for public release additional valuable data and tabulations prepared by the Bureau of the Census based on the religious preference information it has gathered;

Whereas the Society strongly feels that this suppression of important data regarding a significant aspect of American Social life is a violation of the spirit of free inquiry, is an obstacle to scientific progress, and is detrimental to the public interest;

Be it resolved that the American Sociological Society protests this suppression of reliable statistical information secured in the course of a competent survey conducted by the Bureau of the Census;

Be it further resolved that the American Sociological Society respectfully requests the Secretary of Commerce to release this information as quickly as practicable;

And be it still further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Commerce, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Director of the Bureau of the Census, and to appropriate members of Congress.

President-Elect Kingsley Davis discussed the plans for the 1959 annual meeting program, and a number of suggestions were made from the floor.

A proposal for standardizing the form of bibliographical references in the Society's journals was referred to the Publications Committee and the Editors.

The meeting was adjourned at 11:45 a.m.

Respectfully submitted,

WELLMAN J. WARNER, Secretary

Report of the Secretary

The conduct of the business of the Society between the sessions of the annual meetings falls into two parts. Policy and developments are the task of the Council and the Executive Committee. Operations are the responsibility of the Executive Officer and staff whose report is in your hands. There follows a record of the activities of the Council and the Executive Committee for the period from the close of our meetings in Washington on August 28, 1957 to the present.

I. INTERIM ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE SOCIETY, THE COUNCIL AND THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1957-1958

The Council approved by mail ballot the minutes of its Washington meeting, and these are published in the December 1957 issue of the *Review*.

Selection of a Secretary

Donald Young was elected Secretary following a poll of the Council. A Committee on the Selection of a Secretary, composed of Robin Williams, Robert Merton and Harry Alpert, handled the negotiations as instructed by the Council.

Changes in the Program and Organization of the Society

Several aspects of the Society's future were discussed at a series of meetings of the Executive Committee and the Committee on Program and Organization, in particular:

- a. Questions of providing further professional services and expanding Society activities;
- b. The rising costs of operating the Society;
- c. Possible changes in the Society's structure to increase its effectiveness.

An advisory poll of the Active members was conducted to provide general ideas and guidance. All these deliberations resulted in a series of proposals, formulated by the Executive Committee and approved by the Council, which took the form of a number of proposed extensions in the Society's program and a set of By-Law changes.

The contemplated extensions of the Society's program include:

1. The establishment of a medium for the publication of materials of professional concern. This will be set up initially as a special section of the *American Sociological Review* entitled,

"The Profession: Reports and Opinions." It is understood that, as this section develops, it may ultimately be set up as a separate periodical publication of the Society entitled, *The American Sociologist, A Journal Devoted to the Profession of Sociology*.

2. Free distribution of the Directory of Members to all Active members.

3. Provision of a travel and expense budget for an Officer of the Society charged with dealing with administrative and legislative processes as these affect sociologists. This means an intensification of the Society's present concern with broad developments in professional schools, teacher training programs, legislation on licensing of psychologists, etc., which have possible implications for sociologists.

4. A plan for publishing (initially in the *American Sociological Review*) critical reviews of research in selected fields of sociology.

5. The possible publication of a monograph series.

6. The further addition of specialized journals as need and opportunity develop in given fields.

The By-Law changes, which were approved by mail ballot of the Active members and are published in the revised Constitution and By-Laws in the August issue of the *Review*, provide for the following changes:

A. Creation of a new category of membership—the Fellows.

Any Active member shall, on completion of five years of Active membership, automatically become a Fellow provided that his Active status rests upon:

- either (a) the present By-Law requirement of "a Ph.D. or equivalent professional training in Sociology, or substantial professional achievement in Sociology";
- or (b) the present alternative By-Law requirement of "a Ph.D. or its equivalent or substantial professional achievement in a closely related field," with the additional proposed requirement of major commitment to the field of Sociology.

(See present By-Laws Article 1, Section 2)

Others who have been Active members for five years may on request have their credentials for Fellowship reviewed by the Classification Committee.

In addition to the rights of Active members, the Fellows alone are eligible for (1) elected office; (2) membership on the Council; (3) chairmanship of standing committees.

At the time the proposed changes take effect (January 1, 1959), all Active members qualified as above who were classified Active prior to January 1, 1954, will automatically be classified as Fellows.

B. Revision of dues structure.

The rate of annual dues for each category of membership will be raised with a view to meeting the deficit in the current Society budget (See *American Sociological Review*, June 1958), to paying for extended Society activities, and to covering the rise in the general level of all costs. Annual dues rates will be:

Student members	\$ 6.00
Associate members	12.00
Active members	15.00
Fellows	20.00

A member in any category may also become a Donor through the annual payment of \$50.00 or more.

Life and Honorary memberships already in effect will be honored, but no further memberships will be granted in either of these categories. (The Executive Office was instructed by the Executive Committee to postpone action on any Life membership applications pending action on the revisions in the dues schedule.)

C. Establishment of a mechanism for creating Sections.

The American Sociological Society will accord official recognition to Sections composed of members with common interests in substantive fields within sociology, and will extend cooperation in matters of program planning, mailings to members, and in other matters as decided from time to time by the Council.

A group of members may be considered by the Council for recognition as a Section if it meets the following requirements: (1) a minimum of 200 members subscribing to the American Sociological Society a mailing fee of \$1.00 each, and (2) the organization of a committee for the Section to cooperate with the Program Committee regarding its part in the annual meetings.

Relation to Regional and Affiliated Societies

1. A proposal made by the Executive Committee for revision of the method of electing Council members representing affiliated societies was put on the agenda for further discussion. This provided that each affiliated society would nominate every third year two of its members

(who must be Fellows of the American Sociological Society). The voting membership of the American Sociological Society would elect one from each pair by mail ballot.

2. Following the suggestion of the Executive Committee, President Robin Williams has set up at this annual meeting a conference of the presidents and Council representatives of the regional and affiliated societies.

3. The Executive Committee asked that officers of the American Sociological Society, when invited to speak officially at regional society meetings, deal with current problems of strengthening sociology as a profession.

Relations with Other Organizations

1. The Council voted to ratify several changes in the By-Laws of the American Council of Learned Societies, so as to separate the existing By-Laws into a Constitution and a set of By-Laws, to eliminate the provision for members-at-large, and to provide for a President instead of an Executive Director.

2. The Executive Committee voted to authorize the President and the Secretary, on behalf of the American Sociological Society, to recommend to the President of the United States a slate of five names for consideration as members of the National Science Board.

Budget

1. The 1958 Budget was recommended by the Budget Committee and authorized by the Council, as published in the June *Review*.

2. The Executive Committee voted to recommend to the Budget Committee that the salary of the Executive Officer be raised to the level of \$5,000 per annum, half-time, effective January 1, 1958.

Grants

1. The grant of \$2,500 was received from the Asia Foundation for the use of the Society in furthering relations between American and Asian sociologists. President Robin Williams, as instructed by the Council and the Executive Committee, set up the following Committee to administer this grant:

Kingsley Davis, Chairman
Wolfram Eberhard
Amos H. Hawley
Marion J. Levy, Jr.
Bryce F. Ryan

2. The Executive Committee interpreted the Council's mandate to the Travel Grant Com-

mittee, as established last year to administer the Carnegie grants, to mean that the Travel Grant Committee determines upon broad allocations of funds by years and types of priorities; that the Council or the President (acting for the Council) continues to designate delegates (using any advisory help which he may desire); but the Travel Grant Committee is to determine the funding of travel of such delegates.

Annual Meetings

1. The Executive Committee recommended to the Program Committee that it give special recognition at the 1958 Annual Meeting to the centenary year for both Durkheim and Simmel.

2. Philip Hauser was elected Chairman of the 1959 Local Arrangements Committee.

Publications

1. The Executive Committee approved the plan of the Editor of the *Review* to remove from the outside cover the words "Official Journal of the American Sociological Society."

2. President Robin Williams was requested by the Executive Committee to proceed with plans for the preparation of a brochure for use by Department Chairmen in the recruitment of students in the field of sociology. Accordingly, Raymond Bowers was asked to undertake the task, assisted by an Editorial Board composed of:

Harry Alpert
Leonard Cottrell
Kingsley Davis
John Riley
Elbridge Sibley
Wellman Warner

3. At the recommendation of the Publications Committee, the Executive Committee voted unanimously that, if the *Public Opinion Quarterly* is offered to the Society under appropriate conditions, the Society should agree to take over its publication under the general plan initiated with *Sociometry*, with full regard for the several related interdisciplinary interests. Princeton University decided, however, not to offer the *Quarterly* at this time.

Other Matters

1. The Council approved the statement, prepared by the Committee on Implications of Legislation that Certifies Psychologists, on "Legal Certification of Psychology as Viewed by Sociologists." This statement is published in the *June Review*.

2. The Secretary was asked to express to New York University gratitude and the Committee's enthusiastic support for exploring a possible future housing site for the Society.

3. Upon the request of Thomas P. Monahan, an addendum to the Official Reports was published in the *June Review*, as recommended by the Executive Committee to the Editor.

Further Actions of the Council, July-August, 1958

1. The Council voted to make no change in the 1958 Budget at this time.

2. Raymond Mack was elected Co-chairman of the 1959 Local Arrangements Committee to serve with Philip Hauser.

3. The East Coast, preferably New York City, was selected as the site for the 1960 meetings, and the Executive Officer, the Secretary and the President-Elect for 1960 were authorized to negotiate the best possible hotel arrangements.

II. ELECTIONS

The Committee on Nominations and Elections for 1958 reported the results of the balloting and it is hereby incorporated in the record as follows:

President-Elect:	Howard Becker
Vice-President-Elect:	Wilbert E. Moore
Committee on Publications:	Gordon W. Blackwell
Council:	George C. Homans
	Seymour Martin Lipset
	Charles P. Loomis
	John W. Riley, Jr.

III. MEMORIAL RECORD

Since our adjournment in Washington last August, 15 of our colleagues and friends in the Society have been removed from our roles by death. It is the Secretary's grievous duty to record the deaths of the following members:

George C. Barker	Catharine Patrick
Nathaniel Cantor	Howard J. Pixley
Rev. William R. Clark, O.P.	A. P. Schorsch
Walter H. Eaton	Frank K. Shuttleworth
Donald R. Fagg	Philip M. Smith
Leo Fishman	Albert E. Wiggam
Else Frenkel-Brunswick	Florian Znaniecki
Floyd W. Owen	

IV. SPECIAL SERVICES

To the following members who have performed valuable services in a wide range of

representation roles during the year, the thanks of the Society have been expressed:

Harry Alpert—National Science Foundation conference on "Research and Development and its Impact on the Economy," Washington, D. C.

Henry L. Andrews—Inauguration of Frank A. Rose as President of the University of Alabama, University, Alabama.

Wilbur Brookover and W. W. Charters, Jr.—Thirteenth Annual National Conference of the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, Bowling Green, Ohio

Helen F. Eckerson—Twelfth National Conference on Citizenship, Washington, D. C.

G. Franklin Edwards—Meeting of Social Legislation Information Service, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Abbott L. Ferris—Program planning project on "Research into the Identification, Development, and Utilization of Human Talents," sponsored by the American Institute for Research and University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Harold A. Gibbard—Inauguration of Stanley H. Martin as President of West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon, West Virginia.

Wayland J. Hayes—Inauguration of Stephen Wright as President of Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Bernard Kutner—Meetings of National Health Council, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Sister Mary Kenneth—St. Joseph's College Convocation, West Hartford, Connecticut.

Mildred R. Mell—Inauguration of Sidney Martin as President of Emory University, Emory University, Georgia.

Harlan H. Miller—Inauguration of Edwin Martin as President of Trenton Teachers College, Trenton, New Jersey.

Meyer F. Nimkoff—International Union of Family Organizations, Paris, France.

Calvin Wall Redekop—Inauguration of Hugo Norton as President of Trinity Seminary and Bible College, Chicago, Illinois.

Gordon F. Streib and Zena Smith Blau—Project Committee of the National Committee on the Aging of the National Social Welfare Assembly.

V. GENERAL

1. A rapid scanning of the year's record makes evident the sustained vitality of the Society's development and equally clear, the impressively wide distribution of membership participation in handling its affairs. One policy recommendation which has moved through all the stages of probing and discussion to the agenda of the annual meeting illustrates this process. The minimum budgetary requirements

of the Society call for increased income at the same time that professional growth calls for sharper definition of membership categories. The new status of Fellow which emerges is designed to tighten up the membership structure. It provides that after the initial changeover this year, future access to that status will be limited to Active members not only of five years standing but to those whose "major commitment" is to sociology. The Classification Committee is now engaged upon the task of implementing this requirement.

2. The expanding needs of the Society for adequate office facilities presents a problem which we share with other learned societies of the United States. While the organizations of the societies are small and operating with part-time staff, it has typically been possible to find suitable facilities without cost in the institution where the administrative officer is located. Growth to the size and operations which we are now approaching has led other societies to provide their own quarters. In the not too distant future it is to be expected that we shall need to follow a like course. During the past year we have participated in discussions and preliminary planning which may well lead to the establishment of a learned society center with adequate facilities for the expanding functions of the various organizations of the learned professions.

3. The Secretary welcomes with satisfaction Donald R. Young's accession to the re-defined roles of that office. This will formalize the continued counsel and guidance to the profession which has been a long established relationship. The Society is fortunate in being able to command the services of one who is so notably qualified to represent the professional interests of the Society.

4. Our Society now moves into the tenth year of the expanding and effective operations of its national office under the direction of its first Executive Officer, Matilda White Riley. The Society could not have been more fortunate. It is a tribute to her personally and professionally that she has played the sensitive and exacting role with such effect in organizational efficiency and high morale. The present secretary records again his debt to the Executive Officer and her staff. Our office manager, Marguerite Fine, and the staff deserve commendation for productive performance under the heavy pressures of work load and limited resources.

Respectfully submitted,

WELLMAN J. WARNER,

Secretary

Report of the Executive Officer

During the past year, the Society has continued its steady growth. Table 1 shows a few of the trends which are indicative. There are, for example, 5,462 members now, as compared with 2,673 in the reorganization year, 1949. Among these, there are now 2,480 Active members, as against 1,352 in 1949. Income from dues, estimated to be more than three times greater in 1958 than in 1949, is now actually running ahead of these estimates, partly because of intensive efforts this year to bring in new members, and partly because many present members have been more punctilious than usual in paying their dues. (There are always some

(in small type) is more efficient than mimeographing. Correspondence between members and the Executive Office mounts more rapidly than the staff has been able to expand to take care of it promptly.

The Society's numerous committees and editorial boards, and its representatives to other organizations, continue to play an increasingly vigorous role, as reported in these proceedings. At this time of organizational development of the Society, it seems particularly noteworthy that several of these committees have set up a regional or local structure. The Membership Committee has for several years worked through representatives who promote membership in their own institutions. More recently, the Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics and

TABLE 1. SOME INDICATORS OF THE CONTINUING GROWTH OF THE SOCIETY

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958 Est.
<i>Indicators of Growth</i>										
Number of members	2,673	3,582	4,126	4,307	4,352	4,376	4,590	4,958	5,195	5,462
Non-member subscribers to <i>Review</i>	1,352	1,416	1,502	1,625	1,799	1,901	2,053	2,025	2,115	2,140
Number of Copies of <i>Review</i> printed (per issue)	4,400	5,100	6,000	6,300	6,500	6,700	7,100	7,300	7,850	8,300
<i>Income</i>										
Total income	\$22,556	\$40,661	\$47,779	\$43,918	\$53,627	\$55,892	\$61,355	\$82,738	\$90,847	\$95,696
Dues income	12,525	21,167*	25,749	26,253	33,495*	35,664	37,063	38,279	40,604	43,040
Subscription income from <i>Review</i>	5,143	6,130*	7,169	7,716	9,417*	9,967	10,132	11,838*	15,601	15,601
Advertising income from <i>Review</i>	3,358	4,203*	4,052	3,822	4,345	4,373	4,713	4,171	5,238*	5,800
Subscription income from <i>Sociometry</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9,580	8,209	9,109
<i>Expenditures</i>										
Cost of printing and mailing <i>Review</i>	14,252	15,098	18,808	21,640*	20,960	23,749*	25,859	26,594	29,933*	32,071
Cost of printing and mailing <i>Sociometry</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,935	4,930*	5,544
<i>Balance between Income and Expenditures</i>										
Net income	\$(-3,124)	\$1,551	\$2,254	\$(-137)	\$8,772	\$8,188	\$5,407	\$1,841	\$(-416)	\$(-3,881)

* Rate increased.

who, though undoubtedly dedicated and well-intentioned, must be cut from the rolls for non-payment even after four reminders.)

Thus the Society will enter its new phase of revised program and organization with a broad base of support within the profession. Not only are members more numerous—they seem also to become steadily more active in their roles as members. "Current Sociological Research, 1958," for instance, lists 68 pages of research projects reported this year, as compared with 56 pages a year ago. Abstracts of papers for the annual meeting have reached a volume where printing

the Liaison Committee on Sociology and Education have added auxiliary members to work at state or regional levels. And this year the Committee on Implications of Legislation that Licenses Psychologists has set up a staff member in each of 47 states. In a parallel development, the President is arranging an informal conference at the annual meetings at which regional societies (as well as other affiliates) may discuss their common interests and problems.

As a further organizational step, the Committee on Medical Sociology has been operating informally, following Executive Committee in-

structions, as a prototype of the Sections now authorized under the revised By-Laws. The Executive Office has conducted a number of mailings for this Committee, and has facilitated their cooperation with the Program Committee in program planning.

Under the expanded program of activities, as provided for by the By-Law changes, a number of first steps are underway for the coming year. Publication of the special Bulletin on Sociology and the Field of Education has already been announced to members. The Directory of Members, which will be published in a revised edition in 1959, will be distributed free to all Active members and Fellows, and may contain more information about each member than in the earlier listings. A brochure to describe the roles of sociologists is in preparation and will be made available to department chairmen and others for distribution to both graduate and undergraduate students. The special volume of 1957 annual meeting papers on Current Problems and Prospects in Sociology has been edited by a Board made up of Robert Merton, Leonard Broom and Leonard Cottrell. Scheduled for publication by Basic Books this fall, it will be widely promoted to social scientists in many fields and offered to members at reduced rates, at the same time that royalties are paid by the publisher to the Society. In addition to the section on The Profession which has already been added to the *Review*, plans are under consideration for the inclusion of an annual listing of available grants and fellowships. Also being considered is the publication of the Employment Bulletin as a supplement to the *Review*. This would improve the appearance, and also regulate the publication schedule, of a medium which is now clearly accepted by deans, department chairmen, and other key employers; which stimulates several hundred employment communications each month; and which has an accumulating record of sociologists placed in positions in government and industry, as well as in institutions of higher learning.

The staff of the Executive Office is perhaps more keenly aware than others can be of the tireless devotion and firm support given the Society by Wellman Warner. Except for our personal loss, we cannot regret the expiration of his term as Secretary; he has well earned a release from the heavy burdens we impose upon him, and we know from past experience that his important services to the Society will always continue. We should like, too, to express formal thanks once again to all of our hosts at New York University, who continue to welcome us despite our increasing encroachments upon their limited space.

We in the Office look forward to working under the guidance of Donald Young, who, as a past President, enters the redefined Secretaryship as a symbol of the Society's increasing professional stature.

Respectfully submitted,

MATILDA WHITE RILEY

Report of the Editor of the American Sociological Review

The present Editor assumed his duties, officially, in January 1958. This first report, however, must record important preliminaries, including the encouraging and helpful advice of the former Editors, Frank H. Hankins and Maurice R. Davie. While in Los Angeles last June, he studied a model of editorial skill and objectivity, the work of Leonard Broom, retiring Editor, Gretchen Broom, exemplar of efficiency, and their colleagues at U.C.L.A., whose delightful hospitality matched their informed discussions of editorial procedures and problems. The transcontinental shift of the *Review* during the fall of 1957 established the Brooms as masters of logistics and the current staff as their grateful beneficiaries. The latter neophytes are also indebted to Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Chairman of the Publications Committee, Matilda White Riley, Executive Officer, and the Associate Editors, whose wise and generous counsel is always at hand; and to Mr. Henry Quellmalz of the Boyd Printing Co., who expertly converts the proposals of a new editorial staff into the reality of a publication.

Such proposals include: alteration of the cover design, beginning with the February 1958 issue but continuing on an experimental basis; substitution of the division, Research Reports and Notes, for the former Notes on Research and Teaching; and introduction of the division, The Profession: Reports and Opinion, a first version of which was published in the June 1958 issue. As the August issue indicates, this division now incorporates Official Reports and Proceedings and News and Announcements, as well as information and commentary (including articles on teaching) of professional interest, thereby serving perhaps as forerunner of the "journal devoted to items of professional in distinction to scientific importance" recommended by Leonard Broom in the December 1956 issue of the *Review*.

The procedural policies of the previous editor guide the present staff. Thus papers are evaluated by at least two Associate Editors or other qualified referees, to whom identity of authorship is not (deliberately) revealed; continuation

of this policy is strongly recommended. Again, papers are unsolicited, a policy about which there is less agreement among the editors and staff, and one which, the Editor believes, should permit occasional departure, especially in the case of the new division on The Profession.

In his reports of 1956 and 1957, the Editor noted a ratio of submitted to accepted papers of 4 to 1. Since September 1957, this ratio has risen to about 6 or 7 to 1, brought about in part by a probable increase in the number of submitted papers, increase in average length of those published, and introduction of the new division. (In the last three issues of 1957, 35 articles and research reports were published; in the first three issues of 1958, only 28, plus three papers on the profession.) This regrettably high rate of rejection, however, is primarily a matter of editorial evaluation. In the opinion of the referees and the Editor, far too many papers show questionable scholarship, weak organization, or, particularly, careless formulation. This view is reflected in the fact that of the 220 papers submitted between September 1957 and May 1958 only four or five were accepted without substantial revision. Thus meticulous evaluation of papers and detailed suggestions for revision are major editorial functions, performed expertly by the 12 Associate Editors. Their heavy tasks, together with growing sociological specialization, are the basis for the recommendation that the number of Associate Editors be increased to 15.

The *Review* continues its titular function on a large scale: 143 books were reviewed in the last three issues of 1957, 137 in the first three of 1958. Michael S. Olmsted not only manages this job with the care and wisdom of his predecessor, Richard T. Morris, to whom both the Book Review Editor and Editor owe thanks for friendly counsel, but brings to the staff creative imagination and medicinal wit. We are all in his debt.

The Editor's indebtedness extends of course to those diligent workers and splendidly uninhibited critics, the members of the local staff, and to that virtuoso, Betty H. Vogel.

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES H. PAGE
Editor

Report of the Editor of *Sociometry*

It will be recalled that the second year of publication of *Sociometry* by the Society showed a slight decline in subscriptions and in the num-

bers of articles submitted for appraisal. It is gratifying to report this year that the circulation loss of the second year has just about been recovered. As of June 1, 1958 there were 1,266 subscriptions as against 1,151 for the previous year. Most of this gain is in library subscriptions. The number of articles submitted as of June 30, 1958 totals 101 as against 89 at this time in 1957. Of the 101 articles submitted, 22 have been published or scheduled for publication; four are in process of revision for resubmission; 23 are under review and 52 have been rejected.

Because of the difficulties the Waverly Press was having in meeting publication schedules, it was decided this year to contract with the Boyd Press for publication of the journal. Readers have no doubt been aware that recent issues have appeared on or ahead of schedule.

A number of additional encouraging signs merit reporting. There is now a modest backlog of articles that are ready for publication. This enables the staff to plan an issue ahead in scheduling. It is hoped that when the new editor takes over he will have at least one issue all ready to go, and thus have time to become oriented before going immediately to press. The quality of articles submitted has continued to show some improvement. Authors who wish to publish theoretical discussions are somewhat more willing to try their luck with *Sociometry*, and the mistaken opinion noted last year that only articles based on quantitative empirical materials were desired has been corrected to a substantial degree. It is the impression of the editors that the reputation and prestige of the journal has continued to improve.

While the question of whether or not there is a secure place in the Society for the kind of publication *Sociometry* represents has not been settled, our confidence that the answer will be in the affirmative is greater now than ever.

Respectfully submitted,

LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR.

Report on the Bulletin Series on Applied Sociology

Sales on the two published Bulletins have continued during the past year. Since my last report we have sold 389 copies of the Bulletin on *Sociology and the Field of Corrections* by Lloyd Ohlin, bringing the total sales to 2,898. The Bulletin on *Sociology and the Field of Mental Health* by John Clausen sold 544 copies since my last report bringing its total sales to 2,648.

A draft of the Bulletin on *Sociology and the Practice of Medicine* was just about completed this spring but Dr. Albert Wessen has had to postpone further work on the manuscript until he gets settled in his new position at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

A fourth Bulletin on *Sociology and the Field of Education* by Dr. Orville G. Brim, Jr., Sociologist on the staff of Russell Sage Foundation, was published this spring. The dispatch with which the planning and writing of this Bulletin was done is indeed gratifying. Dr. Brim accepted the assignment on March 19, 1957 and delivered the manuscript to the printer on May 15, 1958.

As reported last year, two other Bulletins are in process—one on *Sociology and the Field of Social Work* by Henry J. Meyer of the University of Michigan, and the other on *Military Sociology* by Dr. Morris Janowitz, also of the University of Michigan. Satisfactory progress on both these Bulletins is reported though an estimated date of submission of first drafts of the manuscripts has not been set in either case.

Respectfully submitted,
LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR.

Report of the Publications Committee

During the past year the committee was requested to submit nominations for the editorship of *Sociometry* to succeed the present incumbent whose term ends December 1958. Nominations were submitted to the Executive Committee and this list, supplemented by other names suggested by Executive Committee members, was submitted to the Council for a preferential ballot.

The committee was also asked to consider the pros and cons of a proposal that the American Sociological Society offer to assume sponsorship of the *Public Opinion Quarterly*. There was at that time some possibility that Princeton University would terminate its support of this journal. The committee recommended unanimously that the Society make a bid for the publication and an offer was made to the responsible authorities. However, Princeton University has decided to continue its sponsorship and the matter has been dropped.

The chairman of the committee, responding to a request by the president of the Society, submitted a memorandum to the Executive Committee discussing the need for a journal devoted to matters of professional concern to sociologists. There was recognition of the need for some channel of publication of this type of material. However, for the time being it has

been thought best to devote a section of the *American Sociological Review* to this purpose.

Respectfully submitted,
LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR.

Report of the Membership Committee

The American Sociological Society had a greater increase in membership this past year than in the two immediately preceding years combined. The total membership on May 1, 1958 was 5,675, up 442 over the preceding year. Membership can conservatively be expected to pass the 6,000 mark within the next year.

TABLE 1. MEMBERSHIP OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Membership Type	May 1, 1958	May 1, 1957	May 1, 1956
Active	2,528	2,402	2,079
Associate	1,290	1,213	1,293
Student	1,857	1,618	1,582
Total	5,675	5,233	4,954

While gains occurred in all classes of membership, the largest increase was in the student category, special emphasis having been placed this year on recruiting students. The membership campaign was started earlier in the Autumn than in recent years, and involved use of a bulletin poster listing advantages of student membership. Since the turnover in this category is large, it took 712 new student memberships to bring about a net increase of 239. Although resignations account for most losses of student members, upgrading to active or associate membership also reduces this population. Recognizing that the mean duration of student memberships is only about three years, active campaigns to secure new members are obviously required every year if the number is to be increased or even maintained.

Gains were next largest in the active membership category where the net increase was 126. Of these, 109 were new members, the other 17 being accounted for by reinstatements in excess of terminations. It will be noted that the increase in *active members this year was smaller* than last year when the growth was unusually large. The number of new associate memberships was 137, yielding a net increase of 77. The mean duration of such memberships is much longer than that of the *students'* but less than that of the *actives'*. Since the financial return from these memberships is substantial, a special effort should be made next year to

build up this category which has received relatively less attention than the other two.

The largest source of names of prospective active and student members consists of lists of faculty members and students sent in by Department Chairmen. This past year, 58 chairmen sent in lists which were found to contain the names of 1,265 non-members after checking against the records. All of these received invitations to join. An annual mailing by the Executive Office to 1,900 institutions of higher learning produced the names of 303 recent staff additions of persons who were not members. Each of these was also invited to join. Another mailing from the Executive Office to all members of this Society asking for nominations produced 107 names, of whom 95 were non-members. Why did not many more members of this Society submit nominations? Perhaps they felt that this was unnecessary, since this Committee's list of members and representatives is large.

It seems probable that the work of this Committee would be more effective if it consisted of about 50 members, one for each State. State committees could then be established with the members of the national committee as their chairmen. It is believed that a more effective solicitation of prospective members could be had, if there were State Chairmen aided by one representative of each institution of higher learning within its boundaries that has offerings in sociology. Committee members would be aided by having a clear-cut definition of their responsibility for solicitation within a defined area. It is recommended that this plan of reorganization of the Membership Committee be adopted.

On behalf of the Committee, I wish to extend our appreciation to Marguerite Fine, Matilda Riley, and Wellman Warner whose effective work in the Executive Office contributed greatly to the growth in membership. We also wish to express our thanks to the Department Chairmen for sending in their lists promptly and to the individual members of the Society who made nominations.

Respectfully submitted,

RAYMOND F. SLETO
Chairman

Report of the Committee on Training and Professional Standards

The committee's deliberations during the year have been confined to the training of sociologists. It has nothing to report at present concerning other matters, such as professional ethics, which

might be considered to be within its terms of reference.

Since the last annual meeting the committee has reached by correspondence the conclusion that a critical study of graduate training in sociology would be timely and useful. After several exchanges of letters the committee is in essential agreement on the following points, some of which are here quoted directly from individual members' comments:

"We are on the threshold of further rapid expansion of graduate training in our field and it seems entirely appropriate that we take time out to pause for a critical self-appraisal." "In view of pressures to revamp scientific education generally, our committee has an extremely important assignment."

If a study sponsored by the Society is to have significant influence on graduate education in sociology, its report should contain recommendations for improvement over prevailing practices. Such recommendations must be founded on the facts of the existing situation, but the committee is agreed that an all-inclusive descriptive survey of present programs both good and bad would not be worth its cost. "With the Flexner report as our ultimate standard, the evaluations must be frank, and they must contain prescriptions for improvement."

It follows that appraisals should be made by some one (or ones) who has the full confidence of his fellow sociologists. Assuming that the undertaking were authorized by the Society and funds secured, it should still not be attempted until a suitably qualified study director was found available for a sufficient period. This requirement, as more than one member of the committee pointed out, is made difficult both by the diversity of sociological thought and by the diversity of vocations—academic teaching, various types of research, administration, etc.—for which students are destined. Perhaps, as one committee member says, "Realistically, no one person has this stature."

The report of a study should not be designed for adoption by the Society as official doctrine; on the contrary, it would be most likely to have a wholesome influence if the author(s) were free to express judgments and to make recommendations which might stimulate constructive dissent if they did not gain general assent.

Committee members' estimates of the time that would be needed ranged from a half year to two years' full time work. The idea of a questionnaire survey that could be carried out quickly, mainly by clerical and junior professional people, was rejected. The committee has not attempted to specify in detail the content and method of a study, feeling that a study

director of the calibre envisaged would quite properly demand a free hand in these respects.

A meeting of the committee is scheduled to be held in Seattle Wednesday, August 27, 1958, at 10:00 A.M., at which time its agenda will be guided by any action that may be taken on the foregoing report by the Council of the Society at its meeting on the preceding day.

Respectfully submitted,

LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR.

SANFORD M. DORNBUSCH

WALTER FREY

KURT B. MAYER

ALBERT J. REISS, JR.

ELBRIDGE SIBLEY, *Chairman*

Report of the Committee on Research

This is the third and final report on the work of the current Research Committee of the American Sociological Society, whose members have served for three years. Our first year was spent speculating on the possibility of designing an instrument for evaluating research publications, and a survey by the Committee Chairman of a fairly representative sample of American sociologists on the nature and feasibility of such an undertaking. Our second year was devoted to corraling the literature on evaluation criteria and to attempting to isolate these criteria into some kind of evaluation instrument. At the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society in Washington in August, 1959, which marked the beginning of our third year in office, Theodore Caplow volunteered to assume complete responsibility for the final design of such an instrument, a copy of which is attached. (See Figures A and B.) It sets forth four evaluation areas—Statement of Problem, Description of Method, Presentation of Results, and Interpretation—each of which contains three items, twelve in all. A research publication is rated 0, 1, 2, or 3 on each item, according as the rater rates it "defective," "substandard," "standard," or "superior," respectively. A description of the meaning of each of these ratings by item is furnished the rater along with the rating sheet. For example, a "standard" rating on "Adequacy of Sample or Field" (in the Description of Method area) is described in this fashion: "Findings are projectable, but with errors of considerable, or of unknown, magnitude."

Each of the members of the Research Committee was asked during the Spring of this year to rate all eight articles in a recent issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* and all

nine articles in a recent issue of the *American Sociological Review*, seventeen articles in all, on each of the twelve items in the evaluation scale. Here follow a summary and impressionistic analysis of these data by the Chairman of the Committee. So limited are these data, by their very nature, in analysis potential that the author of this report is furnishing along with the text rather detailed tables for the use of others, perhaps particularly the members of his Committee, who might want to try their hand at other analytical foci.

As noted above, our aim was primarily that of designing a procedure for evaluating research pieces. By deliberately choosing all articles in an issue of two journals we fell heir to some which, because they were non-research or peripheral in nature, did not lend themselves well to our evaluation scheme. On this score, Otis Dudley Duncan wrote: "It (the instrument) will not work for critical pieces, conceptual exercises, so-called statements of theory, or other assorted discourse with which we put up in our journals." Paul Campisi wrote: "Some of the articles could not be rated with the Caplow form. These articles were generally of an explicatory nature involving respecification of conceptual schemes." Samuel Strong expressed the opinion that "Caplow's scheme is intriguing and appears to be almost a valid approach but some of the categories are not applicable to theoretical articles and, therefore, the scoring may not be an adequate rating of them." H. Ashley Weeks found it "impossible to rate some using the form suggested and difficult to rate others." Caplow, the designer of the form, wrote: "In general, we seem to be finding that the achievement of reliability is possible with this scheme, but requires (a) a considerable amount of practice and orientation, and (b) a very literal adherence to the rating specifications." Robert Winch concluded that "the rating form is fine for quantitative-empirical articles," and expressed an interest in learning what our conclusions would be with respect to the other kinds of articles represented. Others, in the cause of completeness, stretched a point and applied the instrument at places where its utility was recognizably limited. One of these was Solon Kimball, who wrote: "I felt to indicate those categories which I started inapplicable for each article but finally decided to attempt to rate on every item even though there was obvious distortion which arose from the rather different approaches."

One measure of the conviction that some of the articles did not lend themselves to such an evaluation form is found in the extent of omis-

sion of ratings by the eight raters participating. Only 8 of the 17 articles were rated fully by all raters. One article received from all raters a total of only 42 ratings out of a possible total of 96 (Table 1). On the average, the 17 articles were only 81.6% ratable by this instrument (i.e., there were made only 1390 item ratings out of a possible 1632). Only one rater, C, rated all articles completely (score of 204: 17 times 12), although two others thought well enough of the applicability of the instrument to make ratings of 203 and 202. The lowest number of ratings by any rater was 130, so the range (i.e., 74) was substantial.

If an evaluation item had been used in all articles by all raters, obviously its total number of ratings would have been 136 (i.e., 8 times 17).

But this was not the case in any instance, although the range was small, from a high of 119 to a low of 109. The mean was 115.6. However, two raters each omitted six of the 17 articles completely. The four evaluation areas—Statement of Problem, Description of Method, Presentation of Results, Interpretation—differed relatively little on this count. Of a possible 408 (i.e., 3 times 136) for total number of ratings, they had scores of 356, 331, 347, and 353, respectively.

Agreement Among Raters on Ratings Made

One measure of agreement among raters was the per cent of ratings that fell in modal categories. For instance, 74.6% of the ratings on

FIGURE A. FORM FOR SOCIOLOGICAL REPORT RATING

Author _____

Title _____

Publication Reference _____

Rater _____

Date _____

Check (✓) Appropriate Columns	Defective 0	Substandard 1	Standard 2	Superior 3
STATEMENT OF PROBLEM:				
1. Clarity of Statement				
2. Significance of Problem				
3. Documentation				
DESCRIPTION OF METHOD:				
4. Appropriateness of Method				
5. Adequacy of Sample or Field				
6. Replicability				
PRESENTATION OF RESULTS:				
7. Completeness				
8. Comprehensibility				
9. Yield				
INTERPRETATION:				
10. Accuracy				
11. Bias				
12. Usefulness				

Enter number of checks in each column in appropriate blanks; weight as indicated, and add for Total Rating

...x0=0 ...x1=... ...x2=... ...x3=...

[Total Rating]

FIGURE B. SPECIFICATIONS FOR SOCIOLOGICAL REPORT RATING

	Defective	Substandard	Standard	Superior
Statement of Problem:				
1. Clarity of Statement	Statement is ambiguous, unclear, biased, inconsistent, or irrelevant to the research.	Problem must be inferred from incomplete or unclear statement.	Statement is unambiguous and includes precise description of research objectives.	Statement is unambiguous and includes formal propositions, and specifications for testing them.
2. Significance of Problem	No problem stated, or problem is meaningless, unsolvable, or trivial.	Solution of the problem would be of interest to a few specialists.	Solution of the problem would be of interest to many sociologists.	Solution of the problem would be of interest to most sociologists.
3. Documentation	No documentation to earlier work, or documentation is incorrect.	Documentation to earlier work is incomplete or contains errors of citation or interpretation.	Documentation to earlier work is reasonably complete.	Documentation shows in detail the evolution of the research problem from previous research findings.
Description of Method:				
4. Appropriateness of Method	Problem can not be solved by this method.	Only a partial or tentative solution can be obtained by this method.	Solution of the problem by this method is possible, but uncertain.	Problem is definitely solvable by this method.
5. Adequacy of Sample or Field	Sample is too small, or not suitable, or biased, or of unknown sampling characteristics.	The cases studied are meaningful, but findings can not be projected.	Findings are projectable, but with errors of considerable, or of unknown, magnitude.	Results are projectable with known small errors, or the entire universe has been enumerated.
6. Replicability	Not replicable.	Replicable in substance, but not in detail.	Replicable in detail with additional information from the author(s).	Replicable in detail from the information given.
Presentation of Results:				
7. Completeness	Relevant results are suppressed or omitted.	Relevant results are presented in summary form.	Relevant results are presented, partly in detail, partly in summary form.	Relevant results are presented in detail.
8. Comprehensibility	Results are incomprehensible, or enigmatic.	Comprehension of results requires special knowledge or skills.	Close study is required for comprehension.	Results are fully understandable at first careful reading by average professional reader.
9. Yield	No contribution to solution of problem.	Useful hints or suggestions towards solution of problem.	Tentative solution of problem.	Definitive solution of problem.
Interpretation:				
10. Accuracy	Errors of calculation, transcription, dictation, logic or fact detected.	Errors likely with the procedures used. No major errors detected.	Errors unlikely with the procedures used. No errors detected.	Positive checks of accuracy included in the procedures.
11. Bias	Evident bias in presentation of results and in interpretation.	Some bias in interpretation, but not in presentation of results.	No evidence of bias.	Positive precautions against bias included in procedures.
12. Usefulness	Not useful.	Possible influence on some future work in this area.	Probable influence on some future work in this area.	Probable influence on all future work in this area.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RATINGS BY ITEM CATEGORIES AND ITEM MEANS

Rater	Item																								Total	Percent in Modal Category																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																				
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Item II (Table 1), Bias in Interpretation, fell in modal categories. The lowest per cent among all twelve items, 52.1% was for Item 3, Documentation. The over-all per cent was 51.4. Actually, in comparing the four areas of evaluation, Interpretation gave the highest percentage of agreement, 61.8, while Presentation of Results gave the lowest, 45.7. This last figure is an interesting one in that it is substantially lower than that of any of the three items composing the area. This is due, of course, to the inconsistency, over items and among raters, of location of modal categories throughout the area.

Mean ratings were computed for all raters over all items by choice categories (Table 1), the obvious assumption being, of course, that rating categories were evenly spaced. The mean here is simply a crude index, the justification for whose use is open to the usual questions in an analysis situation of this type. Assuming its acceptability, let us point up that individual raters differed noticeably in their rating "generosity." C's mean rating over all items was 1.24, to compare with H's 2.03, although their range was practically the same—1.30 and 1.29, respectively (Table 1). B, third highest rater over-all (i.e., 1.83), had the highest range, 1.36.

Table 3 gives a picture of how raters ranked among themselves on mean ratings of items. C, the over-all "conservative," was consistently lowest or quite near the bottom on all items. H, the highest rater over-all, was consistently high throughout the last three evaluation areas, but much more critical in the Statement of Problem area. A, B, and F furnished rather consistent patterns, while perhaps the patterns of E and G are the least consistent.

About the Articles

Measured in terms of per cent of ratings falling into modal categories, Article 15 represents the article of greatest rater consistency, with a figure of 77.4 (Table 2). The lowest per cent was for Article 7, where the per cent was 56.0. The over-all (i.e., all articles) percentage was 65.4. Actually, therefore, the range for this measure was 21.4, which perhaps is no greater than we have the right to expect.

When articles were ranked on the basis of number of ratings over all items by all raters (maximum possible is 96—see Table 2) and by over-all mean ratings of items (Table 2), the coefficient or rank-order correlation between these two sets of rankings was .531, indicating some relationship between the extent to which articles were evaluable by our technique and the quality of the article as measured by it.

When the articles were ranked on the basis of

mean ratings by evaluation areas (Table 4), one readily observes that in some cases there is no close agreement among these areas with respect to this measure of quality. However, exceptions to this are found in the cases of Articles 1 and 2, whose ranks across all four areas are consistently low, and Articles 10 and 11, whose ranks across all areas are relatively consistent and high.

Summary

It appears that the instrument used here in the evaluation of 17 journal articles gave at least fair reliability, as measured by consistency of ratings by eight raters, with those articles predominantly quantitative-empirical in nature. Specifically, such indices as mean ratings and per cent of ratings falling in modal categories were employed. One rater was consistently "hard-boiled" in his ratings while another was substantially, although somewhat less consistently, "generous." The other six, while revealing no such "internal" consistency, were relatively consistent among themselves. When one realizes that the eight raters were not a highly homogeneous group with respect to sophistication in research methodology and over-all orientation to sociological research, perhaps lack of greater reliability of procedure here is as much a function of "rater differences" as inadequacy of instrument.

The limitations of our evaluation method with non-empirical materials were reflected in the refusal of some raters to use the evaluation instrument on some articles or portions thereof. At the risk of being accused of circularity of reasoning or undue assignment of a possible cause-effect nexus, the author points out that, since ratings on peripheral articles were on the average lower than on articles obviously quantitative, we may have rated articles low simply because they were non-quantitative, and, consequently, we were using the wrong type of evaluation instrument. Also, conceivably the higher ranking, quantitative articles might not have rated as high as they did here if the non-quantitative articles had not been included to serve as "bad" examples.

The Chairman has not specifically polled the other members of the Research Committee on where our effort leads the American Sociological Society or its implications for further work by future Research Committees or similar groups. However, the Chairman feels (and believes he may be reflecting the sentiment of several other members of his Committee) that our research publications in sociology need to be evaluated and that our work, despite its seeming simplicity

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF ITEM MEANS RATINGS BY JOURNAL ARTICLES

Article	Item, with Number of Raters Rating It																Ratings Falling in Modal Categories			
	1	n	2	n	3	n	1-3	n	4	n	5	n	6	n	4-6	n	7	n	8	n
1	1.50	4	1.75	4	1.25	4	1.50	12	1.00	3	1.00	2	1.00	2	1.00	7	1.33	3	1.50	4
2	1.63	8	1.63	8	1.25	8	1.50	24	1.25	8	1.13	8	.88	8	1.08	24	1.25	8	2.13	8
3	2.20	5	2.33	6	1.83	6	2.12	17	1.50	6	1.40	5	1.20	5	1.38	16	1.40	5	2.67	6
4	1.71	7	1.86	7	1.00	7	1.52	21	1.57	7	1.33	6	1.71	7	1.55	20	1.57	7	2.57	7
5	2.17	6	2.00	6	1.33	6	1.83	18	2.17	6	1.80	5	2.40	5	2.13	16	2.40	5	1.67	6
6	1.71	7	2.29	7	1.57	7	1.86	21	1.43	7	.33	6	.33	6	.74	19	1.17	6	2.17	6
7	1.14	7	2.14	7	1.43	7	1.57	21	1.43	7	1.57	7	1.71	7	1.57	21	1.14	7	2.00	7
8	2.25	8	2.13	8	1.38	8	1.92	24	1.88	8	2.00	8	2.25	8	2.04	24	2.25	8	2.25	8
9	1.88	8	1.25	8	1.13	8	1.42	24	1.38	8	1.13	8	1.75	8	1.42	24	1.37	8	2.50	8
10	2.38	8	1.88	8	2.50	8	2.25	24	1.75	8	1.88	8	2.00	8	1.88	24	2.25	8	2.75	8
11	2.50	8	2.25	8	2.63	8	2.46	24	1.38	8	1.63	8	2.00	8	1.67	24	1.63	8	2.75	8
12	2.00	8	2.13	8	2.00	8	2.04	24	1.63	8	1.71	7	1.57	7	1.64	22	1.75	8	2.50	8
13	2.00	8	2.50	8	2.00	8	2.17	24	1.75	8	1.38	8	1.63	8	1.58	24	.75	8	2.13	8
14	1.60	5	1.20	5	1.00	5	1.27	15	.67	3	1.00	3	.67	3	.78	9	.50	2	1.40	5
15	1.80	5	2.40	5	1.80	5	2.00	15	1.00	3	1.00	3	1.00	3	1.00	9	1.75	4	2.00	5
16	2.25	8	2.00	8	2.13	8	2.13	24	1.75	8	1.50	8	1.88	8	1.71	24	1.50	8	2.38	8
17	1.75	8	2.25	8	1.88	8	1.96	24	1.75	8	1.88	8	2.13	8	1.92	24	2.38	8	1.88	8
All Articles	1.93	118	2.01	119	1.69	119	1.88	356	1.55	114	1.45	108	1.63	109	1.55	331	1.60	111	2.24	118

Article	Item, with Number of Raters Rating It																Ratings Falling in Modal Categories			
	9	n	7-9	n	10	n	11	n	12	n	10-12	n	1-12	N	Number	Per cent	Rank			
1	1.25	4	1.36	11	1.25	4	1.25	4	1.50	4	1.33	12	1.33	42	30	71.4	3			
2	1.38	8	1.58	24	1.00	8	1.63	8	1.63	8	1.42	24	1.40	96	61	63.5	12			
3	1.40	5	1.88	16	1.20	5	1.40	5	2.00	6	1.56	16	1.74	65	43	66.1	9			
4	1.29	7	1.81	21	1.29	7	1.71	7	1.29	7	1.43	21	1.58	83	57	68.6	7			
5	1.67	6	1.88	17	2.00	5	2.00	6	2.17	6	2.06	17	1.97	68	50	73.5	2			
6	1.29	7	1.52	19	1.29	7	2.00	7	1.86	7	1.71	21	1.48	80	57	71.3	4½			
7	1.14	7	1.43	21	1.00	7	.71	7	1.43	7	1.05	21	1.40	84	47	56.0	17			
8	1.75	8	2.08	24	1.63	8	2.00	8	2.13	8	1.92	24	1.99	96	55	57.3	16			
9	1.00	8	1.63	24	1.13	8	1.63	8	1.13	8	1.29	24	1.44	96	60	62.5	13			
10	1.88	8	2.29	24	1.38	8	2.13	8	2.13	8	1.88	24	2.07	96	63	65.7	11			
11	1.88	8	2.08	24	2.13	8	2.38	8	1.88	8	2.13	24	2.08	96	57	59.4	14			
12	1.63	8	1.96	24	2.00	8	2.00	8	2.00	8	2.00	24	1.91	94	67	71.3	8			
13	1.88	8	1.58	24	1.75	8	1.63	8	2.13	8	1.83	24	1.79	96	64	66.7	8			
14	1.20	5	1.17	12	1.50	4	1.60	5	1.60	5	1.64	14	1.26	50	33	66.0	10			
15	1.20	5	1.64	14	1.40	5	1.80	5	1.80	5	1.67	15	1.64	53	41	77.4	1			
16	1.88	8	1.92	24	1.25	8	1.88	8	1.88	8	1.67	24	1.85	96	66	68.8	6			
17	1.63	8	1.96	24	1.13	8	1.75	8	2.25	8	1.71	24	1.89	96	56	58.3	15			
All Articles	1.52	118	1.79	347	1.43	116	1.77	118	1.82	119	1.68	353	1.73	1387	907	65.4				

TABLE 3. RANK OF RATERS ON MEAN RATINGS, BY ITEM

Rater	Items												1-12
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
A	1	1	2	2½	3	3	4	6	1	1	3	3	2
B	5	5	5	2½	5	2	1½	4	3	7	6	6	4
C	8	8	7½	8	8	7	8	7	8	8	8	7	8
D	5	7	3	4	2	4	5	5	6	3	5	8	6
E	2	6	4	7	6	5	6	2	5	5½	2	3	5
F	7	2	6	5	7	8	7	8	7	4	7	5	7
G	3	3	1	6	4	6	3	3	4	5½	4	1	3
H	5	4	7½	1	1	1	1½	1	2	2	1	3	1

and perhaps limited reliability, has been an appropriate step in the direction of eventually effecting meaningful evaluation of our publications. Furthermore, since the continuation of such a task is sure to be at best quite time-consuming, the Chairman suggests that the Society seek financial support for such work. The best people for this work are among our busiest, so their time will have to be bought.

The three members of the Committee whose ratings were not included in this analysis had good excuses for their "delinquency." All made substantial contributions at earlier stages of our effort. One, feeling remorseful about his inability to participate in this last effort, article evaluation, graciously tendered his resignation from the Committee. However, the Chairman, remembering clearly this member's initial memo-

TABLE 4. RANK OF ARTICLES ON MEAN RATINGS, BY EVALUATION AREAS

Article	Evaluation Area			
	Statement of Problem	Description of Method	Presentation of Results	Interpretation
1	14½	14½	16	15
2	14½	13	12½	14
3	5	12	7½	12
4	13	10	9	13
5	11	1	7½	2
6	10	17	14	7½
7	12	9	15	17
8	9	2	2½	4
9	16	11	11	16
10	2	4	1	5
11	1	6	2½	1
12	6	7	4½	3
13	3	8	12½	6
14	17	16	17	11
15	7	14½	10	9½
16	4	5	6	9½
17	8	3	4½	7½

randum of timely suggestions when we were defining our job nearly three years ago, refused to accept it.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANZ ADLER
PAUL J. CAMPISI
THEODORE CAPLOW
OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN
ALVIN GOULDNER
SOLON KIMBALL
FRED L. STRODTBECK
SAMUEL M. STRONG
H. ASHLEY WEEKS
ROBERT F. WINCH
E. WILLIAM NOLAND,
Chairman

Report of the Classification Committee

During the year, in pleasant relations with the Secretary, we have advised on some half-dozen cases of classification, all involving Active membership. Some of the cases arose out of preference for Active over Associate membership and were motivated in part by the fact that dues are the same for both classes, although only Active members may vote and hold office. We are pleased to note that the proposed dues structure provides for a higher rate for Active members.

We believe that the present By-Laws defining Active membership are not sufficiently rigorous, and we question whether "substantial professional achievement in Sociology" or "in a closely related field" is an adequate substitute for the Ph.D. or equivalent professional training in Sociology. The proposed changes, which were to be voted upon by the Active members by June 30, 1958, do not set up any more rigorous standards than before, except that, with reference to the proposed status of Fellow (which in general an Active member automatically would become after five years), those whose Active membership rests on professional achievement in a closely related field "shall have major commitment to the field of Sociology." This is simply a strengthening of the present clause providing that such a member's "interest and activities have sociological emphasis or implication."

If the proposed By-Law changes regarding membership are adopted, much of the reclassification from Active member to the status of Fellow will be automatic. The doubtful cases will be the present Active members whose degree or professional achievement is not in Sociology but in a closely related field. A general policy will have to be developed to guide the

interpretation of "substantial professional achievement" and "major commitment to the field of Sociology." Criteria might be books or monographs or a number of articles published in sociological journals and a position, say of associate or full professor rank, involving teaching or research in the field of sociology in an accredited institution of higher learning. It may well be that some present and future Active members will not qualify for the status of Fellow, if adopted. That is as it should be, if Sociologist is to be professionally defined and if the status of Fellow is to mean anything.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT C. ANGELL
PHILIP M. HAUSER
MAURICE R. DAVIE,
Chairman

Report of the Committee on Social Statistics

The Committee on Social Statistics met in Washington on August 28, 1957 with five of its eight members present. At this meeting the Committee considered plans for conducting a survey of the views of the membership of the Society concerning the plans for the 1960 census of the United States. Such a survey had been earlier authorized by the Council at the discretion of the Social Statistics Committee. The Committee decided that the Chairman should assume responsibility for drafting a questionnaire subject to review and approval by the other members of the Committee.

Following the meeting the Chairman prepared a draft questionnaire based primarily on reports and recommendations made by the several technical working groups of the Population Association of America which were organized to make proposals on different phases of the 1960 census. These working groups and a parent census committee of the PAA had met over the period of a year with the assistance of a grant for this purpose from a foundation, and had presented detailed recommendations to the Census Bureau based on their findings. Many members of the PAA census committee and working groups are also members of the American Sociological Society who have special knowledge and interest in this field. In drafting the questionnaire particular attention was given to getting the membership's views on certain practical choices then before the Census Bureau.

The draft questionnaire was reviewed by the members of the Committee and numerous revisions were incorporated. The revised questionnaire was mailed to the Active Membership of the Society on November 21, 1957.

Replies were received from 1299 members, or approximately 54 per cent of the Active Membership. Both in their numbers and content the replies revealed a substantial interest of members in the 1960 census. In a space provided for the purpose over 200 respondents indicated particular needs for data not covered by the specific questions posed in the survey. Several hundred respondents expressed a desire to receive a further and very detailed "Questionnaire on Areas for Users of Census Data" prepared by the Census Bureau. The names and addresses of these respondents were forwarded to the Census Bureau with the request that they be sent copies of the more detailed questionnaire.

Some preliminary results of the survey were used in presenting the views of the Society at a meeting of the Council of Census Users in December. A full written report was transmitted to the Director of the Census as of February 5, 1958.

In his reply the Director thanked the Committee for this report, stating that the "results are definitely of value to the Bureau" and that the response "indicates that there is a broader interest among sociologists than we (the Census Bureau) had anticipated."

A report on the results of the survey is being presented elsewhere in the *Review*.

At the request of the Committee on Program and Organization, the Committee has under consideration proposals to broaden the resolution on race-or-color items in official records as passed at the 1957 meeting of the Society. Our Committee has been in consultation with the Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics on this and related questions.

Respectfully submitted,
DUDLEY KIRK, *Chairman*

Report of the Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics

1. The report on *The Need for Nationwide Marriage and Divorce Statistics*, prepared by last year's committee, was published in the June issue of the *Review*. While it is difficult to assess the results of this publication effort, it seems safe to say that more sociologists are aware of the issue than ever before, and it is our hope that this interest will continue to grow.

2. The Chairman attended the seventh national meeting of the Public Health Conference on Records and Statistics, held in Washington, D. C., March 24-28. American Sociological Society members will be glad to learn that the Divorce Registration Area was inaugurated as

of January 1, 1958, with fourteen states and three territories. In the opinion of National Office of Vital Statistics personnel, prospects are bright for a rapid expansion of the Area. As reported at the Conference, the first published Area data will be for the year 1958.

3. The bulk of the Committee's work during the past year centered about those states not currently members of the Marriage Registration Area (MRA). Our general aim was to see whether the Committee could be of assistance to the non-member states. While our correspondence has not yet been completed, results so far suggest that further work in this direction might be more advantageously pursued by committees from the regional sociological societies. It is our hope that the latter will see fit to carry on the work begun by the A.S.S. Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES BOWERMAN
CLAUDE BOWMAN
C. F. EDWARDS
REUBEN HILL
CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK
JUDSON LANDIS
A. R. MANGUS
MEYER NIMKOFF
CALVIN SCHMID
WILLIAM SEWELL
JOHN SIRJAMAKI
DONALD STEWART
WILLIAM M. KEPHART,
Chairman

Report of the Committee on the Implications of Legislation that Certifies Psychologists

The Committee as a whole has held no meeting during the year. With one exception, to be discussed below, it has conducted its business through extensive correspondence. The Committee's activities have been as follows:

A meeting with representatives of the American Psychological Association to discuss certification as it bears on sociology;

The preparation of a statement on the sociologist's attitude toward certification for publication in the *American Psychologist* and the *American Sociological Review*;

Organization of a liaison staff composed of one person in each of the States, to accumulate information on the certification movement and to inform psychologists of the interests of sociologists;

The preparation of a recommendation to be submitted to the Council concerning the position the American Sociological Society should take on certification.

The Meeting with APA Representatives

On December 20, 1957, Kingsley Davis, Leonard Cottrell, Edgar Borgatta, Matilda Riley and Amos H. Hawley met with Stuart Cook, E. B. Newman, Chairman of the APA Policy and Planning Board, and Jane Hildreth, of the APA Central Office to discuss the issues involved in the legal certification of psychologists and to seek a basis for reconciling the conflicting interests of the two societies.

The psychologists reviewed the history of certification and gave assurances of their good intentions. The sociologists present explained their objections to infringement upon their domain, suggesting that certification with an explicit exemption of social psychology might resolve the difficulty.

It was agreed that further study and consultation was needed. To implement that conclusion the psychological representatives stated that they would recommend the appointment of an ad hoc committee to meet with the ASS Committee. That step would have to await the fall, 1958, meeting of the APA Council of Representatives. Mrs. Hildreth also declared her intention of including a statement in the legislative newsletter, calling the attention of State associations to the need for consultation with sociologists when legislation was under consideration.

Statement on Legal Certification of Psychology as Viewed by Sociologists

In March, 1957, the Chairman was invited to write a short statement on the attitude of sociologists toward certification for publication in the *American Psychologist*. A statement was written, extensively reviewed by members of the Committee, and finally submitted to the ASS Council for approval. The latter step was felt to be necessary in view of the probable interpretation of the statement as expressing an official position. The Council voted approval of the statement. It subsequently was published in the *American Sociological Review*, 23 (1958), p. 301, and in the *American Psychologist*, May, 1958.

Organization of Liaison Staff

The Committee requested the Presidents of regional sociological societies to nominate an individual in each member State to serve in a liaison capacity between the Committee and the local psychological and legislative situation. Liaison personnel have been designated in each of 47 States. No appointments have been made in the District of Columbia and Wyoming. A list of the personnel comprising the liaison staff appears at the end of this report.

Members of the staff were requested to supply the Committee with information on the status of certification efforts, including copies of all laws, bills, memoranda and promotional literature, and to use every opportunity to explain to psychologists the attitude of sociologists toward certification. Such materials as have become available have been distributed to the staff to assist them.

Reports have been filed from a large number of States. Their substance is summarized in the following section.

The Presidents of regional societies have been encouraged to form their liaison persons into regional society committees for better coordination of activities. This has been done in some cases.

Certification in the Several States

As of the date of this report communications describing certification activities have been received from twenty-four members of the liaison staff. More are expected during the next few months. In the meantime the information from the twenty-four States may provide some insight into the movement at large.

While there has been a considerable amount of activity of various kinds during the past year, none of it to our knowledge resulted in the passage of additional certification legislation. Thus the list of States with certification laws are: Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, New York, Tennessee, Virginia and Washington. The last named State certifies "clinical psychologists" only.

Certification efforts failed in Idaho, Michigan, Oklahoma, and Texas during the past year. Attempts will be reviewed in each instance at the next legislative session.

Voluntary certification is practised in Arizona, Massachusetts, Oregon, and Rhode Island. This is carried on by the respective state psychological association.

There has been no action involving state legislatures during the past four years in Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, Ohio, Vermont and Wisconsin. In three of these States—Nevada, Ohio and Wisconsin—and in Oregon bills are being drafted for submission in the next legislative sessions.

In general, bills enacted and drafted seek certification of the use of the terms "psychology," "psychologist" and "psychological" by anyone advertising his services for fees. None provide any exemptions of related fields. Only one includes any provision for an examination of the competence of persons trained in related fields

(Michigan). All contain "grandfather clauses." Only two, however, include reciprocity clauses.

Judging from the experience in Connecticut and Oregon, voluntary certification may be a preliminary step to legalized certification. Connecticut has already completed the step, while Oregon is about to attempt it.

The lack of action in certain states is due largely to effective opposition from local organizations of psychiatrists. It also reflects the absence of repressive legislation so far as the practice of psychology is concerned.

Recommendations

The Committee has attempted through correspondence to arrive at some conclusion concerning an appropriate and possibly effective policy position to recommend to the Council. The result is less than satisfactory, however. It may prove necessary to carry this matter forward to the agenda of the 1958-59 Committee.

Discussions to date serve only to confirm the complexity of the issue involved. At present it is only possible to list the following recommendations:

I. Position re certification:

This should be flexible to permit adaptation to local situations. Hence an order of preference, viz.

1. Self-certification, with or without certification.
2. Limited certification, by function, e.g., "clinical psychologist."
3. Certification with exemption of social psychology, e.g., Fellows of American Sociological Society.
4. Certification with provision for certification of social psychologists, either through
 - (1) Membership on certification board.
 - (2) Membership on examining committee.

II. The appointment of a travelling representative of the Society to advise state sociologists, to review bills in draft and make recommendations, to appear before state legislative hearings, in general to serve as an expert at the service of state groups.

III. That the Council delegate broad powers to the Committee to act on behalf of the Society expeditiously as occasion warrants.

Respectfully submitted,

EDGAR BORGATTA
 PHILIP HAUSER
 ALEX INKELES
 SAUL MENDLOVITZ
 GIDEON SJOBERG
 GUY SWANSON
 RALPH TURNER
 AMOS H. HAWLEY,

Chairman

List of State Liaison Staff

Alabama: Robert E. Garren
 Arizona: Clyde B. Vedder
 Arkansas: Stephen Stephan
 California: Wilson Record
 Colorado: Oliver Whitley
 Connecticut: Jerome Myers
 Delaware: Irwin W. Goffman
 District of Columbia: To be appointed
 Florida: Bryce Ryan
 Georgia: Raymond Payne
 Idaho: Harry C. Harmsworth
 Illinois: J. E. Hulett, Jr.
 Indiana: Gerald Leslie
 Iowa: Harold W. Saunders
 Kansas: Carroll D. Clark
 Kentucky: Robert Kutak
 Louisiana: Warren Breed and Vernon Parenton
 Maine: Theodore Weller
 Maryland: Leila C. Deasy
 Massachusetts: Alex Inkeles
 Michigan: Leonard Moss
 Minnesota: Henry Riecken
 Mississippi: Marion T. Loftin
 Missouri: Noel P. Gist
 Montana: Barbara R. Day
 Nebraska: Alan P. Bates
 Nevada: Carl W. Backman
 New Hampshire: Francis Merrill
 New Jersey: Jackson Toby
 New Mexico: Sigurd Johansen
 New York: Edgar F. Borgatta
 North Carolina: Charles Bowerman
 North Dakota: Robert W. Campbell
 Ohio: Melvin Seeman
 Oklahoma: Solomon Sutker
 Oregon: James Price
 Pennsylvania: David Henderson and Ray H. Abrams
 Rhode Island: Harold W. Pfautz
 South Carolina: Dorothy Jones
 South Dakota: Carrol M. Mickey
 Tennessee: Edward McDill
 Texas: Gideon Sjoberg
 Utah: Harry H. Frost
 Vermont: Albert F. Wessen
 Virginia: Edward W. Gregory, Jr.
 Washington: Jack R. Parsons
 West Virginia: Harold Kerr
 Wisconsin: Louis Orzack
 Wyoming: To be appointed

Report of the Committee on Relations with Sociologists in Other Countries

The 1956-57 Committee, under the chairmanship of Herbert Blumer, explored a number of ways in which the Society might promote better relations with foreign sociologists, but made no recommendations other than that their report "be transmitted to the 1957-58 Committee for further inquiry and action." The 1957-58 Com-

mittee moved from a consideration of goals to a consideration of specific means to implement these goals, and is prepared to make recommendations to the Council of the Society. The Committee's procedure was to have its members individually suggest specific techniques of implementing the previously developed goals, and then to vote on each of the suggested techniques. Of the 16 members of the Committee, 13 voted and recommendations will be made below if at least eight of the Committee members unequivocally favored the proposal. In general, the Committee did not favor proposals which would add to the financial burdens of the Society. The recommendations are:

1. That the Society petition the UNESCO Department of Social Sciences or the International Sociological Association to prepare a complete roster of foreign sociologists, containing name, address and special field(s). Copies of this roster should be made available for a small fee. (11 Committee members voted for this).
2. That this Committee organize a special session at each annual meeting to consist of presentations by 3-4 outstanding sociologists. In some cases these persons will be temporarily available in this country; in other cases their home institutions or governments normally arrange to pay for their travel if the Society were to extend an invitation to them. (8 Committee members voted for this).
3. That, if the recent arrangement of inviting a British sociologist to attend the Society's annual meeting can be continued without cost to the Society, it should be continued and the person selected should be expected to contribute a paper to our sessions. (9 Committee members voted for this).
4. That, because of their geographic proximity, English-speaking sociologists from Mexico should be especially solicited to attend. The Committee has been informed that the National University of Mexico would pay their way if the Society were to extend an invitation. (11 Committee members voted for this, with one member saying that the invitation should be for only one person a year).
5. That the Constitution of the Society should be amended to set up a special category of membership open to all foreign sociologists, with a reduced rate of dues. (9 Committee members voted for this, with one suggestion being that the rate be half and another that the rate be no lower than student rate).
6. That this Committee publish annually in the *Review*, as early in the year as possible, a list of foreign sociologists visiting the U. S. for extended periods of time, with their local addresses, so that department heads wishing to invite them for lectures, etc., might know of their presence. (13 Committee members voted for this).

The Committee has responded to a number of requests for factual information, and also wishes to thank President Williams for his cordial cooperation.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT C. ANGELL
HOWARD BECKER
JESSIE BERNARD
HERBERT BLUMER
THEODORE CAPLOW
H. WARREN DUNHAM
THOMAS D. ELIOT
MABEL A. ELLIOTT
ARTHUR HILLMAN
TALCOTT PARSONS
BRYCE RYAN
T. LYNN SMITH
IRENE TAEUBER
KURT WOLFF
DONALD YOUNG
ARNOLD M. ROSE, *Chairman*

Report of the Liaison Committee for Sociology and Education

The committee met twice during the 1957 Society meetings in Washington, D. C. The major topics for discussion were: (1) the purpose and orientation of the committee; (2) the desirability and possibility of sponsoring a periodical publication for Sociology of Education and/or Educational Sociology; (3) the content and organization of the bulletin *Sociology and Education* then being planned by Orville Brim under the sponsorship of the Society and Russell Sage Foundation; (4) the planning of Sociology of Education sections for the 1958 meetings of the Society.

The discussion among committee members present indicated that there are several different functions the committee can carry on. One of these is the continued and expanded Liaison with the National Council for Social Studies and other educational agencies. A second is a watch dog and promotional function to increase the teaching of sociology in secondary schools and increase the sociological content in the training program of social studies and other teachers. The third function discussed for the committee was the stimulation of sociological research on educational processes and institutions. Although there are differences of opinion concerning the priority to be given these functions there was consensus that the committee should function in all areas to some degree. The majority of those present felt that the third function should have the top priority. It was felt that the first function might be best served by greater interest among sociologists and more

contributions of sociological research in the field of education.

The proposal that the committee investigate the possibility of a publication in the field sponsored by the Society emerged from the discussion of the committee's function. The committee asked the chairman to investigate the possibility of some arrangement whereby the *Journal of Educational Sociology* might become a publication sponsored by the committee or the Society. The chairman has had preliminary discussions with Daniel Dodson, managing editor of the *Journal of Educational Sociology* concerning this possibility. Further discussion and negotiation await action of the Council on the feasibility of Society sponsorship of such a publication.

The committee was much interested in the Bulletin on Sociology and Education and several members discussed sources and content with Dr. Brim. Dr. Brim, The Russell Sage Foundation, and the Society are commended for undertaking the Bulletin project. The committee feels that this will make a great contribution in stimulating sociological research in education.

The program of the 1958 meetings of the Society reflects to a limited degree the planning of the committee. The committee meets on August 27th, at 1:30 P.M. and August 28th, at 9:00 A.M. at places designated in the program. A discussion of developments and further plans for the proposed publication will be a major item on the agenda.

Respectfully submitted,

WILBUR B. BROOKOVER,

Chairman

Report of the Committee to Administer the Carnegie Travel Grant

In May 1957 the Society received a grant of \$9,000 from the Carnegie Corporation to be spent over an approximate period of three years "for travel expenses of delegates to international meetings." An *Ad Hoc* Committee, consisting of Robert Angell, Robert E. L. Faris and Harry Alpert, chairman, reported to the 1957 Council on grant purposes and limitations and on a plan for the general administration of the grant (See *ASR*: 22-6, December 1957, pp. 753-754). The present committee has adopted this set of working procedures and has gone on to develop a budget, to list appropriate international meetings, and to elaborate principles of operation. These are summarized below.

1. Approved Meetings

A list of appropriate international organizations holding meetings in 1958-1960 appears

below and suggestions for suitable additions will be welcomed.

Group A—Society with which the A.S.S. has a relationship authorizing the sending of official delegates:

International Sociological Association

Group B—Societies to whose meetings the A.S.S. should attempt to send official delegates if invited to do so in 1958, 1959, or 1960:

Conference Internationale de Sociologie Religieuse
International Union for the Scientific Study of Population

International Council for Research in the Sociology of Cooperation

Societe Internationale de Defense Sociale

International Federation of Housing and Town Planning

Institute of Pacific Relations

International Statistical Institute

International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences

Societe Internationale de Criminologie

World Association for Public Opinion Research

Group C—Other societies to which the A.S.S. might send official delegates if invited to do so in 1958, 1959, or 1960 and if funds remain after appropriation for delegates to international meetings of societies in Groups A and B:

Association International de Gerontologie

The Biometric Society

Interamerican Society of Psychology

Inter-American Social Security Conference

Inter-American Statistical Institute

International Association of Applied Psychology

International Conference of Social Work

International Congress of the History of Science

International Congress of Psychology

International Economics Association

International Geographical Union

International Political Science Association

International Social Security Association

World Federation for Mental Health

2. Official Delegates

The President of the Society, with the advice and consent of the Executive Committee, appoints all official delegates. Within the limits of the established budget (see 3) minimum-fare air travel grants will be made to such delegates attending any meetings on the foregoing list of approved organizations or which may be added. First priority will be given to supporting delegates to the meeting in Italy in 1959 of the International Sociological Association since this is the only international organization of which the American Sociological Society is a member. The appropriateness of sending a full complement of the Society's officers as official representatives is apparent and the Committee therefore recommends that in addition to the two regularly elected representatives to the ISA, the 1959 President of the Society, with the advice and consent of the Executive Committee,

appoint himself, the immediate past president, and the president-elect as official representatives together with two other persons either (a) from among the following officers: vice-president, secretary, editor of the *Review*, editor of *Sociometry*; or (b) in his discretion, any active member of the Society whom he considers equally well suited. If funds permit, travel grants will be made to members of the Society who travel abroad in an official capacity to take part in any activities of the organizations on the foregoing list, with preference to organizations in Groups A and B.

3. Budget

The following budget has been established:

Year	Expenditures	Cumulative Expenditures
1958	\$1,500	\$1,500
{ 1959 (ISA)	3,500	5,000
{ 1959 (Other)	1,500	6,500
1960	1,600	8,100
Administration (3 years)	900	9,000

Any sum not spent in one year will automatically be allocated to the following year. Whatever sum in excess of \$3,500 (but not in excess of \$5,000) is necessary to provide a minimum of five official representatives to the ISA meetings in 1959 may be transferred from the allocation for other meetings in 1959.

No part of the Carnegie Travel Funds will be used to cover travel for which alternative sources of support are available.

4. Administration

The Executive Officer will administer the program under the direction of the Committee. She will maintain a record of income and expenditures and see that such a record is audited and published in accordance with the customary procedures of the Society. On authorization from the chairman of the Committee, she will issue checks and perform other administrative duties. The Society will be compensated for her time and for other administrative costs up to the amount budgeted and remaining after other proper Committee expenses are met.

5. Other Items

a. Grants are exclusively for round trip transportation at the minimum air rate between home city of the delegate and the place of meeting.

b. No member of this committee is eligible for a travel grant.

c. The committee will provide members of the Society with information on possible alternative sources of travel funds on request.

6. Grants Made

On July 1, 1958, the Committee had received two requests and had authorized one travel grant.

Respectfully submitted,
ROBERT ANGELL
STUART QUEEN
VINCENT WHITNEY,
Chairman

Report of the Committee to Administer Asia Foundation Grant

The Committee has worked along two lines: first, to help sociologists in Asian countries to receive the publications of the American Sociological Society; second, to help Asian sociologists in this country to attend our meetings. Necessarily, not a great deal can be done on either goal, because the fund available (\$2,500.00) is not large. Travel costs in particular are so high as to preclude substantial coverage for all of those who apply. It therefore follows that the Committee's work must necessarily be selective.

To implement these goals, the headquarters office in New York has begun the compilation of an index of Asian sociologists and of libraries and institutes concerned with sociology. The members of the Committee have submitted names and addresses to go into this index, and various organizations such as the Institute of International Education have been asked to help out. (Parenthetically, it may be mentioned that it would have been very helpful, in the administration of this grant, if UNESCO had been able to supply us with a list of Asian sociologists. An international index of sociologists has been recommended by our Committee on Relations with Foreign Sociologists as a UNESCO project.) In addition, a full-page notice was run in the *Review* and circulated widely to other journals, announcing the grant and the purposes for which it is to be used. The *New York Times* carried a brief announcement of the grant.

The response has been gratifying. About 20 applications have been received requesting travel funds for attendance at the Seattle meetings. A lively interest has been shown in the reduced subscription rates to our publications. It appears that approximately \$500 will be spent on travel, the rest of the funds going to support the receipt of American sociological publications by sociologists in Asia.

Respectfully submitted,
KINGSLEY DAVIS, *Chairman*

Report of the 1959 Local Arrangements Committee

During February of 1958 arrangements were completed (with the approval of the President-elect and the Executive Office) with the Edgewater Beach Hotel, Chicago, for the 1959 Annual Meeting of the Society. Pertinent details include:

Dates

The meetings are scheduled for Thursday, September 3 through Saturday, September 5.

Rates

Single rooms—flat rates of \$9.75; double rooms—flat rates of \$16.00; dormitory rooms, twin bedded with connecting bath for 4 persons, limited—\$16.00.

The Edgewater Beach Hotel, one of Chicago's finest, is located on the lakefront, has a cabana club and swimming pool, and a summer theater in addition to usual hotel accommodations. It is relatively far removed from the downtown district and should afford the Society excellent accommodations in every respect.

Information received from the Chicago Convention Bureau indicates that typing and other services will be made available only on a fee basis as follows: badge typists at \$10.00 per eight-hour day; stencil typists at \$12.00 to \$14.00. The Bureau will make available gratis bulletins on "Chicago, Host City to the Nation" listing all of the interesting places to see and pertinent facts about the city; and also "Headline Events in Chicago" which will cover the month of September.

Ray Mack of Northwestern University was invited to serve as co-Chairman of the 1959 Local Arrangements Committee and has agreed to serve. By reason of the fact that Northwestern University is closer to the Edgewater Beach Hotel than is the University of Chicago, there would be a decided advantage in such an arrangement. It is accordingly recommended that Mr. Mack be designated as co-Chairman.

A preliminary review of the possible costs to be incurred by the Local Arrangements Committee indicates that expenses will approximate those incurred at the Washington meetings. It is therefore recommended that funds be appropriated in the amount of \$500 for expenditure by the 1959 Local Arrangements Committee.

In accordance with "Notes on Procedure for the Local Arrangements Committee" it is planned to organize the various required sub-committees and to hold the first meeting of the complete Committee in the fall or winter of 1958.

Respectfully submitted,
PHILIP M. HAUSER,

Chairman

Report of the Representative to the International Sociological Association

The activities of the International Sociological Association during the past year have centered around plans for the Fourth World Congress of Sociology to be held in Perugia, Italy, probably from September 8 to 15, 1959. There are to be three sections as follows:

- I. Sociology in its Social Context
- II. The Application of Sociological Knowledge
- III. Developments in Sociological Method

All papers are by invitation in the first section; and the third section is broken down into ten seminars, each chairman of which will prepare a paper to which invited discussants will react. In Section II, papers may be offered for consideration to the chairmen of the sub-sections. These chairmen are as follows:

- (a) *Industry*: Professor René Clémens, University of Liège, Institute of Sociology, Belgium.
- (b) *Agriculture*: Professor E. W. Hofstee, Agricultural University, Wageningen, Netherlands.
- (c) *Education*: Mrs. Jean Floud, Institute of Education, University of London.
- (d) *Regional and Town Planning*: Mrs. Ruth Glass, Social Research Unit, University of London.
- (e) *Public Health*: Professor Gratchenkov, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Moscow.
- (f) *Mass Communications*: Professor Morris Janowitz, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- (g) *Population*: Professor Livio Livi, Via Baldesi 18, Florence, Italy.
- (h) *Public Administration and Organization*: Mr. Henning Friis, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, Copenhagen.
- (i) *Problems of Economic Growth in Underdeveloped Countries*: Dr. Angel Palerm, Organization of the American States, Washington, D. C.
- (j) *Ethnic and Racial Relations*: Professor E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
- (k) *The Family*: Professor Helmut Schelsky, University of Hamburg, Germany.
- (l) *Leisure*: Dr. Ricardo Bauer, Societa Umanitaria, Milan, Italy.
- (m) *Sociology of Medicine*: Dr. George Reader, New York Hospital, 525 East 68th Street, New York 21, New York.

The Social Science Research Council is administering a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York for travel grants to international meetings. The committee in charge seeks persons who by their presence, participation, or organizing services, will make major contributions to the success of a conference; and scholars who by their attendance will gain ideas and contacts that will advance their own research.

Special consideration is given to younger social scientists and to those who have had little opportunity to become acquainted with foreign colleagues. Application forms may be obtained from the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

Since the Social Science Research Council has been made one of the agents for the distribution of a large grant from the Ford Foundation for the travel of foreign scholars to international conferences held in this country, the American Sociological Society may well consider inviting the International Sociological Association to hold its Fifth World Congress here in 1962.

Respectfully submitted,
ROBERT C. ANGELL

Report of the Representative to the Social Science Research Council

The varied and extensive activities of the Social Science Research Council are described in its Annual Report as well as in the quarterly publication, *Items*. A detailed presentation is accordingly unnecessary in this report.

Through the years the Council has stimulated and encouraged research and training in all the major social disciplines through the cooperation of the relevant professional and scientific organizations and through the voluntary participation of a large number of interested individuals. It continues to be an important force for the advancement of the social sciences.

During the year a grant of \$860,000 for a five-year period was made to the Council by the Ford Foundation. The funds are to be used for the following programs: (1) small grants-in-aid to individual scholars for their research; (2) awards of \$4,000 to individuals engaged in behavioral research; (3) fellowships to advanced graduate students to permit completion of the doctoral dissertation; (4) experimental efforts concerned with the use of electronic computers for the simulation of logical processes in human thinking; (5) support of research planning and appraisal projects on a variety of topics. About twenty-five grants of \$4,000 each will be announced late in 1958 under the new program of awards to individual social scientists for advancement of their own behavioral research. Nominations are welcomed, but applications are not invited from individuals on their own behalf.

With augmented funds, the Council has been able to expand its program of grants-in-aid and fellowships. For 1958-59, eighty research training fellowship grants were recommended of

which nine were for post-doctoral and seventy-one were for pre-doctoral training. As in the previous year, six faculty research fellowships were awarded. Under the program of grants-in-aid of research, 24 persons received awards under the continuing program established in 1927 and 22 were recipients of the larger grants, under the program announced in 1956.

Three summer research training institutes were held in 1958: one dealt with the analysis of electoral behavior, another with the judicial process, and the third with the simulation of cognitive processes.

The program of grants for travel to international social science meetings was vigorously expanded during the year, after the initial grants in October, 1957 for travel to the Ninth Pacific Science Congress, held in Bangkok.

A new three-year program of grants to individuals for social science research on the Near and Middle East has been established. Five to fifteen grants a year are anticipated. Grants may be made to persons with established social science competence who are not specialists but who wish to advance their training in this area.

The Council's system of research planning and appraisal committees continued to command the interest and participation of large numbers of social scientists. A recently established committee of interest to sociologists is the Committee on Personality Development in Youth (Ralph W. Tyler, chairman). This committee, working with a three-year grant from the Ford Foundation, is interested in the planning and execution of research on individual personality development of students and on the institutional setting within which that development occurs.

The growing importance of mathematical thinking in the social sciences is reflected in the Council's current publications.

During the year the Washington office was closed, and the Council's staff and activities are now centered in the office at 230 Park Avenue, New York.

Respectfully submitted,
ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR.

Report of the Society's Delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies

Your Delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies has, during the course of the year, taken steps to inform himself concerning the current programs and policies of the Council. This has involved several informal meetings with knowledgeable persons and also attendance, together with the Secretary of the Society, Well-

man Warner, at the annual meeting of the Council which was held this year in Indianapolis.

By way of a preliminary report to the Council of this Society, the following observations may be made: 1) There appears to be ample basis for a viable and significant organizational relationship between this Society and the ACLS. 2) The intellectual connections between the humanities and the social sciences are complex and increased academic communication needs to be encouraged. 3) The A.C.L.S. is currently sponsoring several programs of immediate interest to the members of this Society such as grants-in-aid of research, fellowships, and support of international congresses.

Your delegate intends to activate the committee designated by you to study this relationship consisting of: Robert C. Angell, Robert Bierstedt, Robert K. Merton, Wellman J. Warner, and Vincent Whitney, and to present a more complete statement at the next annual meeting of this Society.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN W. RILEY, JR.

Report of the Representative to the American Association for the Advancement of Science

This year the AAAS is 110 years old and its weekly publication *Science* is 75 years old. The present membership, according to a recent release, is 56,000. Activities of interest during the year are as follows:

1. Parliament of Science

At the annual meeting in Indianapolis in December 1957 considerable concern was expressed over the possibility that the post-Sputnik shock in this country would lead to poorly designed schemes to place greater stress on science and scientific education. There was also much expressed concern over the possibility of furthering the gap between the physical and social sciences by too focussed attention to the former. Thus it was decided to highlight these matters by holding a "Parliament of Science" as soon as possible whose reports would be made available to the public, to Congress, etc. The parliament was held in March 1958, "at which approximately 125 scientists, who were nominated for attendance by the 18 sections of AAAS, discussed a number of problems of science and public policy: the support of science; organization and administration of the nation's scientific effort; communication among scientists and communication of scientific ideas; the selection, guidance, and assistance of students; and the

improvement of teaching and education. This meeting provided a unique opportunity for scientists from all parts of the country to debate current issues and to state points of agreement which may be useful to the Congress, the public, and other groups of scientists."

2. Committee on the Social Consequences of Science

This is the new title for the former Committee on the Social Aspects of Science, mentioned for the first time in last year's report. The Committee's first job was to define its areas of interest and suggest a practical program of activities. The areas of interest, as recommended to the AAAS Board are as follows:

- (1) Undertake a long-range study of social aspects of science.
- (2) Investigate various public attitudes about science.
- (3) Explore ways of promoting interpretations of scientific advance for public information.
- (4) Make an annual report for submission to the Council.
- (5) Propose methods of obtaining increased support for scientific effort.
- (6) Continue to deal with specific social problems involving science as they arise.

The Board suggested that special attention be given to items (3) and (5).

So far as program is concerned the Committee submitted the draft of a statement on the radiation problem and conducted a session on the problem at the Indianapolis Annual Meeting.

3. Science Improvement Programs

a. Science Teaching Improvement Program: Special emphasis has been given to promoting cooperative working relationships among the scientists and educationalists on their own campuses, within the states, and on a national basis. This has been done by visiting most of the state academies of science and more than 100 colleges and universities. In addition, 20 regional consultants have carried on similar promotional activities. The Association has also established science and mathematics counselors to the secondary school teachers in Nebraska, Oregon, Texas and Pennsylvania. This has helped to bring closer working relationships between the universities and high schools and state departments of education. Major educational bills in both houses of Congress have proposed the appropriation of funds for the adoption of this program in all 48 states.

b. Traveling Science Library Program: 1958-1959 will be the fourth year of the traveling

library program, which is financed by grants from the National Science Foundation. During this year, approximately 800 senior high schools in every state in the union, as well as in Hawaii and Puerto Rico, will benefit from this library program.

c. *Special Science Conferences*: The main conferences are the so-called "Gordon Research Conferences," which are informal week-long seminars that bring together up to 100 active research workers from industry, government and universities in both the United States and abroad. Each summer 36 conferences are held on various topics.

d. *Symposium Volumes*: The Association published its 50th symposium volume this year. Up to now there has been no volume published in the social sciences, but this is not a matter of Association policy. It is hoped that this deficiency will be corrected in the not too distant future.

e. *Radio and TV Programs*: The Association has assembled material for a weekly radio program on science that will start soon over several hundred radio stations, and has been advising the Columbia Broadcasting System on the TV program "Conquest."

4. 1957 Annual Meeting

The American Sociological Society sponsored or co-sponsored individual sessions at the Indianapolis Annual Meeting on "Current Research on Population" and "Urban Agglomeration: Trends and Implications," and a series of sessions on "Rehabilitation of the Mentally Ill: Social and Economic Aspects." Thanks are due Stuart Rice, Vincent Whitney and Richard Williams for chairing three of the sessions.

5. 1958 Annual Meeting

The next annual meeting will be held in Washington, D. C. December 26-31, 1958.

Respectfully submitted,

RAYMOND V. BOWERS

Report of the Representative to the American Correctional Association

The field of correctional work in the United States is undergoing a period of transition from an essentially custodial to a treatment-oriented view of its function. The impact of this change in conception of the correctional task was evident not only in papers presented at the Congress of Corrections in August, 1957 in Chicago,

but also in the animated informal discussions about recruitment standards, in-service training of staff, mass group work therapy programs, decentralization of institutional facilities, etc. Of particular interest to sociologists is the emerging debate about the appropriate training for different professional roles in corrections, a broadening conception of the range of correctional problems amenable to research and an increasing demand for more research projects of different types.

At present, there seems to be little clarity about the sources from which the correctional field should recruit its trained workers. In part, this is a product of the confusion arising from radical changes in role definition for all categories of correctional personnel. It also seems to be attributable to the fact that corrections is a multi-disciplinary field in which the services of different types of professional persons are required at different points, such that no single profession has received a clear mandate to direct the content of training for all workers. Top administrators in the field reflect various backgrounds of training as educators, psychologists, sociologists, social workers, public administrators, police officials, psychiatrists, etc. Increasingly, however, the correctional sequence developed by the departments of sociology and the generic training programs of schools of social work are being viewed as the principal competitors for control of the educational preparation of correctional workers. Each is seen as offering different types of knowledge and skill for work in the field. The demand for trained workers is becoming so great that departments of sociology, as well as schools of social work, must soon decide whether they will accept the responsibility for the specialized professional education of correctional workers. It seems most probable that some form of shared responsibility will emerge, though at present it is not possible to find general agreement on the specific contributions of each.

To support and encourage research is becoming fashionable among correctional administrators. Research activity on correctional problems seems to be an essential ingredient in the new professional image which administrators must increasingly offer to their publics. Until recently this research activity has taken the form primarily of collecting, analyzing and publishing administrative statistics on correctional populations as a part of the public relations or reporting responsibility of the administration. There appears to be increasing recognition, however, that research designed to evaluate existing forms of correctional organization and practice

can offer much superior grounds for administrative decisions in designing correctional programs. This broader view of the potentiality of social science research extends to an increased interest in supporting research oriented toward accumulating greater understanding of the basic processes of criminal justice and their effect on offenders. For many years, correctional administrators have expressed attitudes of suspicion and hostility to persons concerned with carrying on research operations in correctional establishments. The dominant view held that research would only reveal problems already known to the administrator and would indiscreetly reveal defects which would endanger the stability of the entire correctional organization. The current positive, though still tentative, support of research has been stimulated by the care with which research persons in corrections have handled the public relations problems of administrators and by the demonstrated success of research projects in providing factual grounds for changes in program and organization. The use of research evaluation projects to secure increased budgetary appropriations from the legislature, notably in California, has been the subject of much discussion at the recent meetings of the American Correctional Association. Research persons have expressed some concern that this pattern of using research results will lead to restrictive control by administrators over the conduct and design of research activities. One answer to this problem has been to encourage administrators to work cooperatively with universities on research projects. A recent example may be found in the initiation of a three-year study of recidivism among federal offenders. This study is being directed by Daniel Glaser, Department of Sociology, University of Illinois and is housed and sponsored by the University in cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

The current growth of interest in correctional research projects of different types is creating a demand for the trained research worker from the social sciences. Considerable comment by correctional administrators at the recent meetings in Chicago related to the difficulty of finding persons adequately trained to carry on research projects and at the same time experienced in correctional problems. Adequate exploitation of new opportunities for research in the correctional field will require an awakened interest by social scientists in the nature of these opportunities and the scope of the basic problems of organization and group processes which can be addressed by research projects in the correc-

tional field. It will also require an increased interest on the part of educators in training and directing graduate students to the correctional field as an appropriate area for research activity.

Respectfully submitted,

LLOYD E. OHLIN

Report of the Representatives to the American Public Health Association Committee on Public Health and the Behavioral Sciences

Developments during the past year have been largely organizational and administrative. Following the recommendation of the former ad hoc committee, the Executive Board of the American Public Health Association has now established the Committee within the formal structure of A.P.H.A. A grant to carry out the activities of the Committee has been secured from the National Institute of Mental Health and staff recruited, to report in September. Each of the participating associations of behavioral scientists has been asked to designate two representatives to the new Committee.

It is anticipated that the Committee will meet sometime during the Fall. No action is required of the Council at this time.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN A. CLAUSEN

ROBERT STRAUS

Report of the Representative to the Council of Census Users

In response to an invitation from the U. S. Census Bureau, the under-signed was named in 1956 to represent the Society in the Council of Census Users, a body established by the Bureau to maintain liaison with professional and other public associations whose members have a special interest in information provided by the Census. The Council of Census Users includes representatives of some 70 professional, civic and business organizations. It has held three all-day meetings in Washington on October 19, 1956, December 6, 1957 and April 10, 1958, in each case devoted to discussions of plans for the 1960 census.

I participated in the first two sessions but was unable to attend the third. At the meeting in December I presented some preliminary results from the survey of the membership on 1960

census plans conducted by the Committee on Social Statistics and reported elsewhere in these Proceedings.

In view of interest shown by members of the Society in the topics, I gave particular attention to Census plans with reference to inquiries on race-or-color and on religious preference. The first presented little problem since the Census intends to include the race-or-color inquiry in 1960 as in previous censuses.

On the other hand the Census officials gave advance notice at the December meeting that they had decided to drop the proposed question on religious preference owing to the objections of groups opposing such an inquiry on principle where replies are mandatory, as they are in the decennial census. I expressed regret at this decision, pointing out that the membership of the Society had voted 7 to 1 favoring the inclusion of a question on religious preference. I requested that in its forthcoming press release the Bureau make clear that the decision did not affect the inclusion of questions on religion in the sample enumerations on a voluntary basis made through its current population surveys and that the decision related only to the 1960 census and not to future decennial censuses.

In its press release dated December 12, 1957, the Bureau included these reservations and as of February 2 issued a release entitled "Religion Reported by the Civilian Population of the United States: March 1957," giving some summary information obtained on a voluntary basis in one of the Bureau's regular sample surveys. This is the first time in the history of the census that nationwide data have been obtained on the religious preferences of the population. Previous census information on religion has been based on membership data provided by religious organizations in the Censuses of Religious Bodies, the last of which was taken in 1936.

As a result of renewed political pressure the Census has suspended the publication of further materials on religion from the 1957 current population survey and especially those materials relating to the educational and economic characteristics of the population according to religious preference.

In view of the need for and interest in such information expressed by members of the Society, I have written the Secretary of Commerce and the Director of the Census urging that further tabulations of the materials on religious preference be published.

At the request of the executive officers I explored the desirability of the Society's joining the Federal Statistics Users Conference, a non-governmental group created in 1956 to further the interests of non-governmental users of fed-

eral statistics. I recommended that the Society not join the Conference at this time on the grounds that the membership dues (\$100) and other costs of participation were greater than the foreseeable advantage to the Society of such membership.

Respectfully submitted,
DUDLEY KIRK

Liaison Report on the National Association of Social Workers

This report on the National Association of Social Workers is intended to communicate to the members of the American Sociological Society information on some of the more important of the recent developments in social work research that carry implications for sociologists.

Probably the most significant of these developments has been the emergence of research centers devoted to investigations that are more basic in nature than the customary operational studies performed by agency-based research departments. There are now three such centers, and among their staffs are five of our Society members (viz., Richard Cloward, Julius Jahn, Bernard Levenson, Irving Lukoff, and Lloyd Ohlin). Sketches of these centers follow.

The Research Center of the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, headed by John G. Hill, has a professional staff, both full and part-time, of thirteen. While the Center's administrative expenses have been underwritten by a donor, its research projects are self-supporting and are being financed through contracts and grants to the amount of about a quarter million dollars. A specimen of the Center's projects is one supported by the Ford Foundation which is concerned with the effects of certain organizational aspects of two residential correctional institutions in New York State upon the rehabilitation of their inmates.

The Research Center of the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, with a professional staff both full and part-time of eight, headed by Lilian Ripple, was created by a grant from the Field Foundation. In contrast to that of the New York School Center, the program of the Chicago School Center is more narrowly focused upon basic research in social casework. The main efforts of the Center have gone into a series of lengthy studies, now numbering eight, on the use by clients of casework services. Hypotheses regarding the role in casework of the client's motivation and capacity, and of his environmental opportunities, are be-

ing tested. While most of its projects are internally initiated, the Center undertakes research by contract provided the findings contribute to casework theory.

The Institute of Welfare Research of the Community Services Society of New York is the oldest and largest of the three centers. Headed by Leonard S. Kogan, its permanent staff of seven professionals has at times been augmented by as many as two dozen temporary project personnel. Unlike the two centers previously described, the Institute is not university-affiliated, but is part of a non-sectarian family agency. However, while it serves primarily the operational needs of the parent body, it is also permitted to divert a generous portion of its resources into research toward the expansion of social work knowledge. Much of the Institute's basic research has been concentrated upon a sequence of investigations concerned with appraising change in clients receiving casework services, which have produced the so-called "C.S.S. Movement Scale." The Institute has also secured foundation support for some of its projects. Among these is a large experimental study, financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to the amount of \$300,000, of aged persons receiving and not receiving social services.

Less spectacular but also important are two developments within the National Association of Social Workers. First, the Commission on Practice of the N.A.S.W. has produced a proposal for a comprehensive study of social work practice, with the aim of identifying its distinctiveness and, ultimately, of improving its quality. The proposal identifies over fifty questions and suggests study approaches to them. The plan is for the Commission to farm out the study questions to individual researchers, and then to coordinate their findings. Social scientists are envisaged as being drawn into the research program, for which foundation grants will be sought. Secondly, the Research Section of the N.A.S.W. will publish a fifteen-chapter textbook on methodology applicable to social work research. Under the editorship of Norman Polansky of Western Reserve University, Section members will contribute the book's chapters. The Research Section now has a membership of 510, of whom sixty-two are also members of the American Sociological Society.

In conclusion one other development merits mention. Last November a National Workshop on Community Welfare Research Personnel was held in Indianapolis to consider the recruitment and training of researchers for welfare councils. Among the forty conference delegates present were five members of our Society (viz., F. Stuart Chapin, Marshall Clinard, David French,

Ernest Greenwood, and Raymond Sletto). The Workshop defined the research job in welfare planning settings and constructed an ideal training curriculum, in which the importance of sociology is given proper recognition.

The developments reported above are of relevance to our Society in that they foreshadow added professional opportunities for sociologists. The potential contribution of social science to social work is becoming so accepted that no important social work research is now undertaken without prior quest for methodological and substantive guidance from social scientists, sociologists included. The younger sociologists should be alerted, in time to influence their career choices, to the new areas of activity which these developments will eventually open up for them.

Respectfully submitted,

ERNEST GREENWOOD

Committee Membership

The following appointments to *ad hoc* committees have been made by President Davis at the instruction of the Council:

Selection Committee on Awards: Harry Alpert, *Chairman*; John Clausen.

Liaison Committee on Sociology in Education: Wilbur Brookover, *Chairman*; Harrington C. Brearley, Robert Bullock, Theodore Caplow, W. W. Charters, Lloyd Cook, Jack DeLora, D. G. Epley, Jacob W. Getzels, Earl S. Johnson, John Kinneman, Jay Henry Korson, Otto N. Larsen, Carr Lavell, Alfred McClung Lee, Ward S. Mason, Carson McGuire, Paul Meadows, Georges Sabagh, W. Seward Salisbury, W. O. Stanley, Sheldon Stryker, Mrs. Preston Valien, Sloan Wayland, Stanley Wronski, Leslie D. Zeleny.

Committee on Relations with Sociologists in Other Countries: Arnold M. Rose, *Chairman*; Robert C. Angell, Herbert Blumer, Theodore Caplow, Richard Lambert, Charles P. Loomis, Wilbert E. Moore, Robert A. Polson, Bryce Ryan, Irwin T. Sanders, Edgar A. Schuler, T. Lynn Smith, Irene Tacuber, Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Ruth Hill Useem, Nathan L. Whetten, Kurt H. Wolff.

Committee on Social Statistics: Dudley Kirk, *Chairman*; Donald J. Bogue, Hope T. Eldridge, Leo A. Goodman, Philip M. Hauser, A. J. Jaffe, Daniel O. Price.

Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics: Daniel O. Price, *Chairman*; Charles E. Bowerman, G. Franklin Edwards, William J. Goode, Reuben Hill, William M. Kephart, Judson Landis, Eugene Litwak, A. R. Mangus, Meyer Nimkoff, Calvin Schmid, John Sirjamaki.

Committee on the Profession: Talcott Parsons, *Chairman*; Edgar F. Borgatta, Philip M.

Hauser, Amos H. Hawley, Alex Inkeles, Saul Mendlovitz, Gideon Sjoberg, Guy E. Swanson, Ralph H. Turner.

Liaison Committee with the American Council of Learned Societies: John W. Riley, Jr., *Chairman*; Robert C. Angell, Robert Bierstedt, Robert K. Merton, Wellman J. Warner, Vincent H. Whitney.

Representative to Council of Census Users: Dudley Kirk.

The composition of other committees as appointed by President Davis is as follows:

Membership Committee: Harold W. Pfautz, *Chairman*.

Committee on Research: Theodore Caplow and

Hanan Selvin, *Co-Chairmen*; Wendell Bell, Donald J. Bogue, Warren Breed, William O. Brown, W. Fred Cottrell, Sanford M. Dornbusch, Leslie Kish, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Raymond W. Mack, A. R. Mangus.

Chairmen of other committees thus far appointed by President Davis as requested by the Council are as follows:

Committee on Budget and Investment: Harry Alpert.

Committee on Classification: Wellman J. Werner.

Committee on Training and Professional Standards: Elbridge Sibley.

Committee on Publications: Donald R. Young.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Notice to Contributors

In keeping with a recent recommendation of the Publications Committee of the American Sociological Society, articles in future issues of the *Review* are to include brief abstracts in the manner of the *American Journal of Sociology*. Authors are requested to submit, together with the two (or more) copies of each article, two copies of the abstract. The abstract should note the principal substantive and methodological features of the article and should be limited to about 125 words. *The Editor*.

A Correction, Apology, and Appreciation

The covers of a substantial number of copies of the October, 1958, issue of the *Review* carried the name "Harold Becker" as author of the article, "Culture Case Study and Greek History." The author, of course, is Howard Becker. I apologize to Professor Becker and to the other readers of the *Review*, and express my appreciation to Howard Becker for the graciousness and reviving wit that marked his reaction to this editorial boner. *The Editor*.

Centro Latino-Americano De Pesquisas Em Ciencias Sociais (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) has been established to foster and coordinate research in social sciences in the Latin-American countries. It is sponsored by UNESCO and supported by funds contributed by the Brazilian Government, UNESCO, and other Latin-American countries. The Centro is under the direction of L. A. Costa Pinto, Professor of Sociology of the University of Brazil. It will undertake various enterprises to advance social science in the Latin-American countries, particularly to engage in original research, including a comparative study of stratification and social mobility under the direction of Accioly Borges of Rio

de Janeiro, a pilot study on the social implications of industrialization directed by Herbert Blumer on leave of absence from the University of California, a study on the present state of the social sciences in Latin America directed by Manuel Diegues Jr. and Joaquim Costa Pinto of Rio de Janeiro, a study of new tasks for Anthropology headed by Juan Comas of the University of Mexico, and preparation of a Bibliography on urbanization in Latin America under the direction of W. Bazzanella, Assistant Director of the Centro.

Darwinism and the Study of Society. To mark the centenary of *The Origin of the Species* a conference will be held in Edinburgh from April 8th to 10th, 1959. Further particulars may be obtained from Dr. M. P. Banton, 39 George Square, Edinburgh 8.

International Sociological Association announces that the location of the Fourth Congress to take place September 8-15, 1959, has been changed from Perugia to Milan and Stresa.

The Academy of Psychoanalysis. The mid-winter meeting will be held December 5, 6, and 7 at the Roosevelt Hotel, New York City.

Magazines for Friendship, Inc. Old copies of the *Review* are wanted by foreign scholars. If you do not regularly file or pass your copies on

after reading them, this non-profit organization will provide you with selected names of foreign scholars, teachers, universities and libraries eager to receive learned U. S. publications. For complete details please send a stamped, self-addressed envelope to Magazines for Friendship, Occidental College, Los Angeles 41, California.

Minnesota Follow-Up Study (Moose Lake). Duane V. Ramsey, formerly at Pennsylvania State University, has joined the research staff for the Study, a ten-year program evaluating intensive pre-discharge planning and community follow-up of former state mental hospital patients. Joseph C. Lagey, Project Director, is now with the community team.

National Conference of Social Welfare. Ralph Price, replacing the late Bud Procter, is now an Assistant Executive Secretary, serving as Executive Officer in the Columbus Office, Annual Forum Manager, and Secretary of the Association of State Conferences.

National Council on Family Relations. The first Ernest W. Burgess Award for the best research proposal of the year was made in August, 1958 to Mildred B. Kantor and Howard S. Gall of the St. Louis County Health Department and Washington University.

The Ortho-Psychological Foundation announces the founding of a new journal under the title *Journal of Ortho-Psychology*. It is concerned with the publication of theoretical and applied research, original contributions, papers, articles and studies in values, autonomy, being, self, love, creativity, growth, organism, self-actualization, basic need-gratification and related concepts. Manuscripts and communications should be addressed to Ortho-Psychological Foundation, Anthony Sutich, Director, 2637 Marshall Drive, Palo Alto, California.

National Science Foundation. Henry S. Odert has been appointed as Program Director of Psychobiology, Division of Biological and Medical Sciences. He was formerly Chief of the Occupational Analysis Branch of the Personnel Laboratory, Lackland Air Force Base, Texas.

The fourth group of awards made during 1958 has been announced. Among the recipients are: Alan R. Beals, Stanford University, Joseph B. Birdsell, University of California at Los Angeles, Leo P. Chall, Brooklyn College, Beverly Duncan, University of Chicago, Harold H. Kelley, University of Minnesota, R. Duncan Luce, Harvard University, John W. Riley, Jr., Rutgers, The State University, William B. Schwab, Temple University, Marvin E. Shaw, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Dorothy S. Thomas, University of Pennsylvania.

Albion College. Panos D. Bardis has been promoted to the rank of Associate Professor of Sociology. His novel, *Ivan and Artemis*, was published recently. He has received a grant from the Faculty

Fellowship Fund of the College to make a study of the decline of familism in the United States.

Alfred University. Luke Mader Smith, formerly of the University of Buffalo, has been appointed Chairman of the Department.

Boston University. The following members of the faculty have received renewals of grants from the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare: Walter B. Miller, Dr. P. Stefan Kraus, Ethel P. Swengel, Adelaide L. McGarrett, and Garry J. Margolius.

The University of Chicago. The Committee on Human Development announces a special program of training in social gerontology under the directorship of Bernice L. Neugarten. USPHS traineeships at pre-doctoral and post-doctoral levels are available beginning October 1, 1958, with basic stipends ranging from 1,800 to 4,000 dollars per year depending upon level. Pre-doctoral students will take the Ph.D. degree in Human Development, with the field of specialization and research in social and psychological aspects of aging. For further information, write to Dr. Neugarten, Committee on Human Development.

Awards for study in statistics by persons whose primary field is not statistics but one of the physical, biological, or social sciences to which statistics can be applied are offered by the Department of Statistics. The awards range from 3,600 to 5,000 dollars on the basis of an eleven month residence. The closing date for application for the academic year 1959-60 is February 16, 1959. Further information may be obtained from the Department of Statistics, Eckhart Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

The State University of Iowa. Albert J. Reiss, Jr., formerly Professor and Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Vanderbilt University, has been appointed Professor of Sociology effective September, 1958. He is also serving as Director of the Iowa Community Research Center.

David B. Stout and Manfred Kuhn were participants in the ninth conference on American Studies sponsored by the Newberry Library in Chicago. Kuhn was re-elected Vice-President of the Midwest Sociological Society at its 1958 meeting. Stout has been appointed a member of the advisory council for a new journal, *Technology and Culture*, which is planned for the fall of 1959.

Harold W. Saunders has received a grant from the Old Gold Development Fund to organize a research project on higher education and social mobility in Iowa.

David Gold participated during the summer in the Behavioral Sciences Seminar sponsored by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research at the University of New Mexico. This fall Gold began the second year of his Social Science Research Council Faculty Fellowship.

Martin U. Martel has been appointed staff soci-

ologist to the Institute of Gerontology, effective in June, 1958.

Harry Dick has been appointed to the staff of North Texas State College and Andrew Wade has joined the faculty of Occidental College.

University of Kentucky. Howard W. Beers, head of the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology, is in New Delhi, India, serving as a community development adviser to the Indian government, employed by the Ford Foundation. Thomas R. Ford is acting head of the two departments. Ford has also been named Director of General Research for Southern Appalachian Studies, a research project financed by a two-year grant of 250,000 dollars from the Ford Foundation.

The Social Research Service is making a study of migrants and migration as one of the projects of the Southern Appalachian Studies. James S. Brown is the staff member in charge.

Irwin T. Sanders, Distinguished Professor of Sociology, has resigned in order to continue as Director of Research, Associates for International Research, Inc., Cambridge, Massachusetts. C. Arnold Anderson, Professor of Sociology, has resigned to become Director of the Comparative Education Center, University of Chicago. Bruce J. Biddle, who served as Assistant Professor of Sociology during 1957-58, has resigned to direct a research project at the University of Kansas City, Missouri.

Marion Pearsall has joined the staff as Associate Professor of Sociology and Associate Rural Sociologist. She formerly taught at the University of Alabama, and is co-author of *The Talladega Story*. For the past two years she has been a Russell Sage Foundation Research Resident at the Boston University School of Nursing.

John H. Malbry has been appointed Associate Medical Sociologist in the University Medical Center and Associate Professor of Sociology. He was formerly on the staff of the Upstate Medical Center, Syracuse, New York.

Jiri Kolaja, formerly of Talladega College, has joined the staff as Assistant Professor of Sociology. He holds the Ph.D. in Sociology from Masaryk University in Czechoslovakia and is a candidate for a Ph.D. in Labor and Industrial Relations at Cornell University.

Harry Schwarzweller and Robert A. Danley have been appointed Assistant Professors of Rural Sociology; both have just completed Ph.D. degrees at Cornell University. Daniel Claster has been appointed Instructor in Sociology. Joy N. Query is part-time Instructor in Sociology.

A. Lee Coleman has been granted sabbatical leave for 1958-59. He has been awarded a Faculty Research Grant by the Social Science Research Council and will be at the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, engaged in research on desegregation. After seven years, Coleman has relinquished his duties as Managing Editor of *Rural Sociology*, and the University has given up the sponsorship of the journal.

John Flint has been promoted to Assistant Professor of Sociology.

For the eighth consecutive summer, the Depart-

ment of Sociology and the College of Education conducted the Seminar in Intergroup Relations. The National Conference of Christians and Jews was a co-sponsor. Sidney J. Kaplan, Assistant Professor of Sociology, served as Director.

During the Spring semester, the University conducted a special five-months training course in community development for 20 Village-Aid workers from Pakistan. Howard W. Beers, James S. Brown, Willis A. Sutton, Jr., and C. Milton Coughenour were the committee in charge, with James S. Brown as principal staff member.

Marquette University. Rudolph E. Morris has been appointed Director of the Department. Bela Kovrig, with a grant of the Research Committee of the University, is working on the sociology of rebellion. Paul J. Reiss is directing a research project of the Milwaukee Intercollegiate Council on Intergroup Relations on Puerto Rican families in Milwaukee.

McMaster University. Frank E. Jones has been appointed Chairman of the newly-established Department of Sociology. He and Frank G. Vallee will offer courses for students studying toward Pass and Honours undergraduate degrees.

University of Missouri. The Department of Rural Sociology has received a grant from the National Institutes of Health to study "Human Factors Related to Farm Accidents in Missouri." Robert L. McNamara will direct the project. A project on Agricultural Communication to assess the literature in the area of diffusion of farm information is also under way, under the direction of Herbert F. Lionberger.

Northwestern University. Gresham M. Sykes, formerly of Princeton University, has joined the staff as Associate Professor of Sociology. John Kitsuse, formerly of San Diego State College, has joined the staff as Assistant Professor of Sociology.

Morton B. King, Jr. has completed a year as Visiting Lecturer in the Department, and has been appointed Professor of Sociology at Southern Methodist University. Two Visiting Assistant Professors are teaching in the Department during the year 1958-59: Aaron V. Cicourel, formerly with the School of Nursing at the University of California Medical Center, Los Angeles, and Linton C. Freeman, of Syracuse University.

Raymond W. Mack is serving as Director of the University's liberal arts program for Bell Telephone System executives. Gresham M. Sykes is on leave for the year to work on a manuscript on criminology. Kimball Young, Chairman of the Department, is on leave during the winter quarter to continue his research on communitarian movements in nineteenth century America.

University of Notre Dame. E. K. Francis has been granted leave of absence to organize the newly created Chair of Sociology in the University of Munich. He will assume his duties on October 1, and cordially invites all colleagues traveling in Europe to visit the Munich Institute of Sociology.

Oberlin College. George E. Simpson, Chairman of the Department, was awarded the Wellcome Medal for Anthropological Research, 1957, by the Royal Anthropological Institute for his essay *Jamaican Revivalist Cults*.

University of Oklahoma. Charles D. Whitley, formerly of Western Michigan University, has been appointed Assistant Professor. Samuel Meyers has joined the staff under a joint appointment where he will serve also in the Department of Public Health and Preventive Medicine, University of Oklahoma Medical Center. Norman Jackman is serving as Acting Director of the Institute of Group Relations while Muzafer Sherif is on leave from the Department of Psychology. Reed M. Powell has been granted a leave of absence to accept an appointment as Visiting Lecturer at Harvard during 1958-59. Jack Dodson has been appointed Chairman of the Department of Sociology.

Portland State College (Oregon). John James is continuing on part-time leave of absence during 1958-59 while serving as Research Director, Oregon Study of Rehabilitation of Mental Hospital Patients.

Charles Frantz has received his Ph.D. degree in Anthropology from the University of Chicago. During 1958-59 he will be on leave while conducting research in race relations and teaching at University College of Nyasaland and Rhodesia, in Southern Rhodesia, under the Inter-Universities Africa Program. Sally Snyder, University of Washington, has been appointed Instructor in Anthropology and will serve in Frantz's absence.

Frederic Chino served as Consultant to the Oregon Study of Rehabilitation of Mental Hospital Patients during the summer of 1958. He is also continuing his research on occupational aspirations.

Charles S. Brant, together with Bernard Kutner, Social Psychologist at Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Yeshiva University, conducted a Seminar in Medical Sociology at Portland Extension Center during the past Summer Session.

Warren Kalbach, University of Washington, has accepted the joint appointment of Director, Oregon Board of Census, and Assistant Professor of Sociology on the Portland State College faculty.

Purdue University. Harold T. Christensen, Head of the Department, has returned from Copenhagen, where he spent last year as a Fulbright Research Scholar at the Sociological Institute. He has also resumed his position as Editor of *Marriage and Family Living*.

Gerald R. Leslie has been elected Chairman of the Membership Development Committee of the National Council on Family Relations.

Louis Schneider's book, with Sanford Dornbusch, *Popular Religion: Inspirational Books in America*, has been published. During the summer of 1958 Schneider was a participant in the Danforth seminar on Interpretation of Religion in Sociological Theory. He is also acting as consultant on a thirteen program radio series on the Negro in the United States,

being prepared under a grant from the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

Dwight W. Culver has returned from a two-year leave of absence while he served as Executive Director of the Panel of Americans, Inc., in New York City.

Leonard Z. Breen has launched a study of housing, employment, and health facilities for the aging in cooperation with the Retirement Study Foundation at Columbus, Indiana. He is also completing a three-year study of criteria of aging.

Robert L. Eichhorn has completed the survey phase of the Purdue Farm Cardiac Project, a study of the reaction of farmers to cardiac impairment. He is now directing one of a series of studies of the professionalization of engineers.

Walter Hirsch has been promoted to the rank of Associate Professor.

Irving Rosow spent the summer at Harvard University completing the analysis of data from an interdisciplinary project in which he was engaged in England for three years. The project concerns an experimental psychiatric center south of London.

James M. Beshers spent the summer as Consultant with the Purdue Statistical Laboratory and the Agricultural Experiment Station. He is also directing a study of Internal Migration in Indiana under a research grant.

Edward Z. Dager has received a grant for a two-year experimental research and training program for family life teachers in Indiana high schools. He is also directing a Purdue Research Foundation project on role conflict in the education of women engineers, and is studying family reactions to heart impairment and the effects of familial integration on heart patients.

The University of Southern California. Edward C. McDonagh assumed the chairmanship of the Department effective September 1. Dennis McElrath joined the Department as Visiting Assistant Professor and will specialize in medical sociology. Georges Sabagh is on leave of absence to administer a study of selected ecological factors associated with mental deficiency at Pacific Colony Center.

The University has received a grant of 700,000 dollars from the Ford Foundation to organize a Youth Studies Center in a community to be selected in the Los Angeles area. Donald Van Arsdol will gather basic ecological data concerning the community selected. A number of departments in the behavioral sciences will be actively involved in the Ford project over the next five years, principally public administration, sociology, and psychology.

Melvin J. Vincent's *Industrial Sociology* is in press. James Peterson's (with E. Metheny) *The Trouble with Women* was published last Spring. John E. Nordskog's *Social Change* is being prepared for publication. Edward C. McDonagh (with Sven Wermlund of Gothenburg University, Sweden, and Jack Crowther of Compton College, California) completed the analysis of data on the differential statuses of selected professions as per-

ceived by Swedish and American University students.

The University of Texas. Warner E. Gettys retired from the chairmanship on September 1st after thirty years as the first and only Chairman of the Department. He will continue as Professor of Sociology.

Carl M. Rosenquist, Professor of Sociology, and Héctor Solís Quiroga of the National University of Mexico are working on the methodology of a study of juvenile delinquency which proposes to investigate, by similar techniques, delinquent boys in Monterrey, Mexico, and San Antonio, Texas. The preliminary phases of the study have been underwritten by the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, The University of Texas.

Robert L. Sutherland, Professor of Sociology and Director of the Hogg Foundation, was the recipient of an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Knox College. He is beginning an exploratory study on the adjustment of mental patients to the community, supported by the National Institute for Mental Health and the Hogg Foundation. Fred R. Crawford is serving as Field Director and Glen Rollins is the Psychiatric Social Worker on the project. The two-year study will center in four communities of 50,000 population or less which represent divergent ethnic, economic and mobility characteristics.

Harry Estill Moore, Professor of Sociology, recently published *Tornadoes Over Texas*. He is continuing as editor of the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*.

Walter Firey, Associate Professor of Sociology, is on leave for the fall semester in order to complete a book growing out of his research on a comparative study of resource use patterns. The project is supported by the Research Institute of the University.

Ivan C. Belknap, Associate Professor, returned to teaching in the fall semester after spending the preceding twelve months directing a community-hospital study in the Lower Rio Grande Valley. His project is being financed by the National Institutes of Health, U. S. Public Health Service. Frank C. Nall is research associate on the project.

Reece J. McGee has been appointed Assistant Professor. Announced for publication is *The Academic Marketplace* by McGee and Theodore Caplow of the University of Minnesota.

Richard M. Colvard has been an Instructor since the Fall of 1957. Idris William Evans, former Instructor in the Department, is now at the University of Montana. Paul H. Vossick, also a former Instructor, is now on the faculty at Oklahoma State University.

Tulane University. The Department of Sociology and Anthropology now offers a program leading to the Ph.D. in anthropology. Two anthropologists have been appointed as Assistant Professors: John L. Fischer, of Harvard University, specializing in Micronesia and Japan; and Henry Orenstein, who received his Ph.D. from the University of California, an India and Siam specialist. The other four an-

thropologists on the staff are Robert Wauchope, Arden R. King, Munro S. Edmonson, and Robert A. Lystad. Wauchope has been named Editor of a planned 10-volume *Handbook of Middle American Indians*. An initial grant has been received from the National Science Foundation.

Tulane's Middle American Research Institute and the National Geographic Society are cooperating in the archaeological study of Djibilchaltun, a former Mayan city near Merida, which was probably the most extensive ancient city in the western hemisphere. E. Wyllis Andrews of the MARI is field director.

John Rohrer, Munro Edmonson and associates have completed their re-study of "The Children of Bondage." Edmonson participated in the International Congress of Americanists in Costa Rica last summer.

Arden King is spending three semesters in Europe, as supervisor of the Tulane junior year abroad program.

Robert Lystad has returned from a year's leave on the West African Comparative Analysis project.

Tulane has received a 75,000 dollar grant from the Ford Foundation for a study of jazz. A collection of primary materials will be made available to all scholars. Direction of the study is in the History Department.

Leonard Reissman has been named Favrot Professor of Human Relations in the College of Arts and Sciences. He has completed a study of the Jewish community of New Orleans.

Forrest E. LaViolette has completed a study of Negro housing in New Orleans, with Joseph Taylor, formerly of Dillard University, for the Commission on Race and Housing.

Thomas Ktsanes and Warren Breed are studying the social psychology of segregation, with a grant from the Anti-Defamation League.

William L. Kolb was on the faculty of the Conference on Interpretations of Religion in Social Theory at the University of North Carolina last summer, and also lectured at an institute at the Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest.

Wayne State University. Edgar A. Schuler, Departmental Chairman, has returned from a year at Thammasat University, Bangkok, on a Fulbright Research Grant. In collaboration with Dean Vibul Thamavit he completed the study, *Public Opinion Among Thai Students*.

John Biesanz has been named Professor. He is on sabbatical leave as Fulbright Lecturer in Sociology at the Pedagogische Hochschule, Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany.

Stephen C. Cappannari has been named Associate Professor. He was Anthropological Consultant at the Cleveland Psychiatric Institute during the spring semester.

Frank E. Hartung was Visiting Professor at the University of Alberta during the summer. He continues on sabbatical leave for the fall semester.

Rudolf Helling, doctoral student, received a research grant from the Canada Council to study a new frontier community in northern Ontario.

Thomas F. Hoult, author of the recent *Sociology of Religion*, participated in the Danforth seminar at University of North Carolina last summer.

Gabriel and Bernice Kaplan Lasker returned from Fulbright leaves in September. They conducted a series of village studies in Peru.

Stephen W. Mamchur has been granted a sabbatical leave for 1958-59.

Albert J. Mayer continues as Director of the Detroit Traffic Study.

Mel J. Ravitz, who served as Acting Director of the Urban Planning Program, has been succeeded

by Robert Hoover, newly appointed Director of the inter-departmental program. Ravitz also served as Director of the Wayne State Summer Workshop in Human Relations.

Harold L. Sheppard has returned from sabbatical leave as a Fulbright researcher in France. He will continue as Sociologist on the staff of the Joint Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations of Wayne State University-University of Michigan.

Richard Waterman was a Visiting Professor in Ethnomusicology at the University of California, Los Angeles, during last summer.

Announcing
MacIVER LECTURESHIP
to
REINHARD BENDIX
1958

The MacIver Lectureship is awarded to the author or authors of a publication which, in the opinion of the Selection Committee, contributes outstandingly to the progress of sociology during the two preceding years.

The Award carries an honorarium of five hundred dollars, and the recipient, in addition, delivers a public lecture at a meeting of an affiliated regional society other than that of his own region.

The Selection Committee has concluded its deliberations, and its recommendation has been approved by the Council. I deem it a privilege to announce that the MacIver Lectureship of the American Sociological Society for 1958 is awarded to Reinhard Bendix for his book *Work and Authority in Industry*. Published in 1956 in New York and London, this book, a major contribution to the sociology of knowledge and the sociology of work relations, conforms to the highest standards of scholarship in the field of sociology.

It is a distinct pleasure to greet and congratulate its author as the recipient of the second MacIver Award of the Society.

ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR.
President

August 28, 1958

REVIEW ARTICLE

THE "JACOB REPORT"*

DAVID RIESMAN

Harvard University

Professor Jacob was asked by the Hazen Foundation to make a study of the impact of social science courses on the values, especially the moral and religious values, of college students. He went about his work with the assumption that college *should* have an impact on the values of students. He reviewed several hundred studies done since the 1920s concerning the attitudes of students, including experiments in changing such attitudes either through a single experimental course or a whole curriculum; as an *omnium gatherum* of such research, much of it still unpublished, Jacob's book, with its extensive bibliography, is very useful. Jacob visited a number of colleges, talked with knowledgeable teachers and administrators, and also read autobiographical and other materials in which students set forth their hopes and aspirations.

Jacob first presents a profile of today's generation of students; then he describes what happens to them as they go through college, indicating the bearing on this of the curriculum (especially in the social sciences¹), the instructor, and one or another type of teaching method; there are also brief remarks on the relevance

of the student's personality (for instance, his rigidity or authoritarianism) on what he can learn and the conditions under which he can learn it. The author devotes particular attention (in Chapter 6) to those few colleges which he describes as having a "peculiar potency": they manage to make a dent on their students, or at least to turn out students who differ from the all-American collegiate norm.

Jacob is a political scientist and not a psychologist and he makes no serious effort to distinguish the careful and penetrating investigations from the many inconclusive studies. In these latter studies, typically, a psychologist administers a "values" scale to one section of an introductory course and to a control group not taking the course, on a "before" and "after" basis, and then finds that the course did not have a "significant" impact in changing values in some presumptively desirable direction. The procedure ignores sleeper effects, leakage from those taking the course to those not taking it, decisive impact on a few students, great but offsetting impact on different groups of students, and so on. The sort of careful work on these matters done by Carl Hovland, Irving Janis, and their colleagues at Yale, could not, of course, have influenced the earlier studies and has only peripherally filtered into many of the later ones. Still, it is not as a technical review that Jacob intends his work, but rather as an overall impression of the student culture today and of the faculty's irrelevance to it. Accordingly, in addition to remarks on the problems of measurement in the studies on which the "Jacob Report" is based, I shall deal with the substantive issues raised.

Most studies of attitudes and attitude-change among college students have been done by psychologists who have not been concerned with the total complex of influences to which students are exposed. This is understandable, for colleges are not pre-contact island tribes; they are more like "small town in mass society" than they are an isolated "Plainville, U.S.A.," and those few investigations which have treated college as a four-year "campaign"—and hence studied change longitudinally from entrance to graduation—have taken years to complete. This is

* Philip E. Jacob, *Changing Values in College: An Exploratory Study of the Impact of College Teaching*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957. xvi, 174 pp. \$3.50.

¹ Jacob began with the assumption that courses with a social content would presumably have most relevance for inculcating good citizenship, as well as other liberal values (using "liberal" here in the political rather than the educational sense). He concluded that they did not. The book by Morris Rosenberg, with the assistance of Edward A. Suchman and Rose K. Goldsen, *Occupations and Values*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957, a publication of the Cornell Values Study, does indicate that students majoring in the social sciences may in fact be oriented towards public (though seldom directly political) service in contrast, e.g., with students in engineering. But on at least some campuses, students in literature, philosophy, and physics might be more "liberal" both politically and educationally than many in the social sciences. At any rate, Jacob concluded that the college as a whole made more difference in the outlook of students than did any cluster of individual courses.

true of Theodore Newcomb's study of Bennington College (perhaps as close to an island tribe as one could find outside small demonominational schools), which examined the ways in which the liberalism of leading faculty members is transmitted by influential upperclassmen to entering students from less emancipated backgrounds.² The Mellon Foundation studies at Vassar (in addition to interviewing alumnae from different college generations) have pursued Newcomb's lead in delineating the various sociometric groupings in the student body, the way these induct freshmen into different versions of Vassar, and the different images of the relation of their college years to later life.³ However, in Jacob's account these notable studies carry hardly more weight than those studies which make simplistic comparisons in terms of pen-and-pencil tests between students exposed and not exposed to a particular course in human relations. This may be one reason why his overall verdict as to the effectiveness of college is so bleak. It seems to me that the struggle which occurs in college between the efforts of some of the faculty to socialize the students into scholarship or some comparable ideal and the efforts of the rest of the culture (including much of the faculty) to use college as anticipatory socialization for middle-class existence, cannot be understood purely in terms of the trajectory of individuals; sociological or anthropological concepts and methods are also required—concepts dealing with mutual acculturation, the formation of subcultures and reference groups, and the impact of mutual expectations and pluralistic ignorances.⁴

² *Social Change and Personality*, New York: Dryden Press, Second Edition, 1958.

³ Although the main focus of this work has been on students and has proceeded by interviews and psychological tests, there has been some reliance on participant-observation as well, and the subcultures among the faculty have not been neglected. Cf. for a preliminary report, Nevitt Sanford, et al., "Personality Development during the College Years," *Journal of Social Issues*, 12, 4 (1956). I am indebted to Professors Sanford, Freedman, and their colleagues for helpful discussion of the Jacob Report and related matters.

⁴ Since the Jacob Report appeared, Professors C. Robert Pace and George G. Stern of the Syracuse University have published *A Criterion Study of College Environment* (mimeographed, Syracuse University Psychological Research Center, 1958), where an ingenious attempt is made to get at the climate of the college by having individual students answer questions giving their image or legend about it, e.g., item 82, "very few things here arouse much excitement or feeling," or item 30, "professors are sympathetic to hard and honest effort even when the student's level of performance

Whatever the quarrels about methodology, Jacob's view of the moral climate among students in the United States today confirms what many faculty members already think:⁵ he regards three quarters of them as out for the main chance, lacking in any sense of solidarity or community, tolerant of others out of flexibility and lack of censoriousness, rather than out of high principle—all too well prepared as future organization men (and their wives). Most colleges, no matter what their programs—whether oriented towards vocational training or towards the liberal arts, towards general or towards specialized education—have, Jacob writes (p. 53),

a socializing rather than a liberalizing impact on values. [College] softens an individual's extremist views and persuades him to reconsider aberrant values. It increases the tolerance potential of students towards differing beliefs, social groups and standards of conduct so that they can move about with minimum friction in a heterogeneous culture. It strengthens respect for the prevailing social order.

This is so even when the students' families regard the values acquired by their children at college as unconventional: they are unconventional only from the point of view of the elderly, and not from that of the younger, sophisticated generation for whom college serves as an initiation.

In fact, Jacob discusses, though too briefly, what it is in the way of outcomes that the faculties actually want, and whether possibly, much as they may vocally deplore the apathy and

is not very high." Such a method may work where the college is relatively homogeneous, and where one is primarily interested in the students' ideology about the institution. But not all students are equally influential either in determining the climate or the local legends about it; and of course few if any are aware of the full impact of college on them, along with and in contradiction to other agencies of socialization. Jacob reports no studies by participant-observers who, having graduated, could still "pass" as undergraduates and might have returned to live in, but not quite of, a college.

⁵ Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, Jr., in *The Academic Mind: Social Scientists in a Time of Crisis*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958, present data on the feeling of professors that their students have become more cautious, less interested in politics, and generally conformist during the years of the Cold War; the majority at institutions of any quality regret this. Reading the interviews on which this work is based, I have sometimes felt that the minority of politically involved students of the '30s and '40s may possibly loom too large in the faculty's judgment—while many students today—sensitive, sophisticated, and self-critical—may be almost too ready to be told they are conformists (a self-confirming prophesy?).

Philistinism of students, some may unconsciously welcome these student attitudes as a justification for their own preoccupation with research and their lack of interest in or fear of undergraduates. Jacob, however, does not fully confront the fact that a strong minority of faculty members at leading institutions believe that college should serve only to give intellectual training and not to form a community nor to alter student values, save as these may indirectly be influenced when clarification and dialectical sharpness encourage more rational judgments concerning both the goals the students already have and issues outside the academy. Many men of this outlook would violently reject Jacob's ethics as those of a boy scout. (One may comfortably preserve one's scorn for boy scouts while one's own students remain highly motivated, intelligent, and rarely delinquent.) Others might share Jacob's position but still believe that moral influence over students is best kept implicit, a little like the "silent trade" ethnographers have described. The university today, more I would think than big business, is a refuge for individualists and entrepreneurs who tend to shun explicit commitment to communal or collegiate values other than those implicit in their own discipline or in a religion of science. Many such men entered academic life in protest against parochial values in their home settings—and they may continue to feel that it is their task to shake students loose from parochialism, confident that this is still the enemy and that students will come out all right, as they did, once they have been shaken loose. At times, to be sure, such professors may be ambivalent concerning those ties with students which are based only on mutual interest in a professional or pre-professional task: they may regret not having a wider fellowship with undergraduates, but they may also realize that a student audience can interfere with scholarly pursuits and, at many institutions, with the esteem of colleagues. Yet, in spite of complexities of this sort within the faculty's own outlook—or perhaps because of them—very few of the studies on which the Jacob Report is built have studied faculties as well as students.⁶ True, faculty members appear in some of the studies as individuals, as when a comparison is made between directive and non-

directive instructors in different sections of an introductory social science course. And both influential departments and influential figures in them appear indirectly in the studies done at Wesleyan concerning the colleges which have, on a per capita basis, a distinguished record in the production of scientists and of scholars generally.⁷

Jacob relies on the Wesleyan studies and he adds to them a few others which indicate that there is a considerable overlap between those colleges which excel in turning out scholars and scientists and those which have a "peculiar potency" in terms of their impact on student values. Thus, he cites evidence that Haverford, Wesleyan, Antioch, and Reed turn out students who are "different": students with a sense of obligation to their communities and concern with international affairs. However, in looking at some of these studies, I remained perplexed as to just what it is about these colleges which creates these differences. Take, for example, the autobiographies as of the year 2000 written by Haverford freshmen which indicate that they are less unwilling than other college students to consider some form of service to the world (in or out of government) as a possible career. Such accounts cannot distinguish ideology from commitment.⁸ Moreover, they are insufficient to tell us whether that altruistic ethos was a factor in their choosing Haverford, or whether in holding such views they conform to the ethos of the college they happened to attend and would be equally

⁷ See Robert H. Knapp and H. B. Goodrich, *The Collegiate Origins of American Scientists*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952, and Knapp and Joseph J. Greenbaum, *The Younger American Scholar: His Collegiate Origins*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. There are problems of methodology in these studies, which lump together colleges devoted exclusively to the liberal arts and those combining liberal arts with pre-professional training—problems also in assuming that scholarly and scientific vocations are an adequate test of the quality of a college. Still, these detailed and careful investigations are an essential first step towards a comparative analysis of colleges.

⁸ I do not mean to deprecate the interest and relevance of students' ideologies which, when studied comparatively, can at least be a first step towards understanding. Cf. James M. Gillespie and Gordon W. Allport, *Youth's Outlook on the Future*, New York: Random House, 1955, where such autobiographies were gathered from students in many countries, along with questionnaires as to preferred values; Jacob finds this study among the most valuable in delineating specifically American values, as well as in distinguishing among the colleges in this country which contributed to the Gillespie-Allport research.

⁶ Similarly, industrial sociology began by studying workers and not managers, and the ways in which only the former restricted output. And students are of course a notorious captive audience, while faculties would be such only in a college so benighted that the staff would probably not have any efficacy anyway. I know of only two cases where anthropologists have been turned loose on a college campus (Yale and Vassar).

adaptable to another social climate on graduation.⁹

Of course, people sort themselves out into different colleges for all kinds of reasons, and frequently more (or less) happens than they bargained for. For instance, Jacob presents (in Table 14) some fascinating data on differences between freshmen and upperclassmen at Michigan State which show that those who stay on at East Lansing move from very moralistic and conventional anti-intellectualism towards permissive and emancipated values not very different from those of entering freshmen at Antioch (who, in the course of their first year, move still further towards permissiveness).¹⁰ Jacob's brief discussion of the Basic College's program in general education at Michigan State fails to explain just what happens there and what influence the courses have—any more than it is clear what makes the difference at Antioch: the curriculum (in my observation, not markedly unconventional), or the faculty-student ties (unusually close), or the famous work program, with the selectivity it implies and the ethos built around it? In dealing with the impact of college, one must do without the framework of biological stages which has guided, perhaps misguided, studies of the socialization of children; one is dealing with variables which can seldom be controlled, or even isolated and defined. Intensive studies of individual schools or programs can be understood only in terms of finding comparisons with other schools or programs which contain some but not all of the same features.

Moreover, to answer the questions Jacobs asks, we must select, among the infinite conceivable comparisons, those that might bear on the independence, idealism, or integrity of students. And of course these qualities may be unevenly cultivated by different sorts of undergraduate experience. For example, while Jacob includes Harvard as one of the colleges of "peculiar potency," attributing to its impact the development of a certain autonomy among the students, he also discusses Stouffer's "Analysis of Conflicting Social Norms,"¹¹ which indicates

⁹ If one could combine autobiographical and other such data with responses to the Asch experiment or other tests of conformity or persuasibility (e.g., along the Hovland-Janis-Kelley-Kelman line), one might have a better grasp of the salience and strength of the verbalized ideals.

¹⁰ I am using "permissiveness" as Samuel Stouffer does in *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties*, New York: Doubleday, 1955, ignoring problems in the concept touched on in my article, "Orbits of Tolerance, Interviewers, and Elites," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 20 (Spring, 1956), pp. 49-73.

¹¹ *American Sociological Review*, 14 (December,

that many Harvard students believe they would turn in their friends if they would be endangered by not doing so, though they would protect their friends otherwise.¹² By giving Harvard students the plus label of "autonomous," he praises their independence and unconventional thinking while underplaying the privatism, even solipsism, he elsewhere deplores. In doing this he lumps them with students at colleges such as Haverford, Macalaster, and Wesleyan,¹³ which appear to inculcate a greater sense of community and a greater concern with student government and international affairs.¹⁴

1949), pp. 707-717; see also Stouffer and Jackson Toby, "Role Conflict and Personality," *American Journal of Sociology*, 56 (March, 1951), pp. 395-406, which also uses Harvard students as subjects.

¹² In the test items, nearly 40% of the students would shift, depending on the consequences for themselves of protecting their friends (in situations involving cheating, accidents, etc.). Perhaps they deprecate themselves unduly; possibly, they are cynical about "friends." Professor Stouffer in discussion has indicated his agreement with my surmise that students at other universities would be more inclined to say that they would go down the line for friends, even at the cost of some risk to self. In correspondence, Professor Toby has pointed out that the Harvard students are genuinely caught in a conflict (the very point of the experiment) between the morality of universalism—they value scholarship and academic competition too highly to condone cheating per se—and the morality of particularism, that is, of friendship itself; and they can rationalize being influenced by the likelihood of discovery by relying on the universalistic side of the dilemma they would acutely feel even if they let their friends escape.

¹³ From these examples, to which Oberlin might be added, it would appear that there may be a point in the career of a college emerging from church control when its once-religious values can be effectively transmuted into more or less secular social action. But Bennington and Sarah Lawrence, *inter alia*, have somewhat analogous outcomes from quite different starting points. (For an admirable account of the faculty's aims at Sarah Lawrence, see Harold Taylor, ed., *Essays in Teaching*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.) Jacob nowhere discusses sex differences, nor the relative freedom of some of the leading women's colleges to emphasize liberal education (liberal in various senses of the term: in that they are less traditional, less vocationally oriented, and in general less infiltrated by the values either of the commercial or the academic market place).

¹⁴ To be sure, many Harvard students are *interested* in international affairs, in the sense of keeping up with the news or even in the sense of concern; but relatively few would seem to be involved in actions such as bringing over Hungarian refugee students, joining peace marches, or running forums, in comparison with other colleges Jacob mentions as having a desirable impact.

Research on higher education must confront the possibility (which underlies so much of Durkheim's thinking) that loyalty to the ideal of individualistic excellence may be at odds with unequivocal loyalty to the college, the state, or the nation. Nor does Jacob ask what a college would be like if it were as big and as complex as Harvard and yet tried to instill the values dominant at a much smaller, less urban, more homogeneous and selective college.

Gemeinschaft is all too easily achieved at those big state universities of the second and third rank where student solidarity, enshrined in fraternities and sororities, confronts a faculty culture so comparatively feeble and unprotected that nothing the latter could do would readily influence the former. Students at such colleges, when asked to read a book they think beyond them, or which is not a free text, will turn in blank pages on the exam.¹⁵ Undoubtedly, the expansion of enrollments in recent years has diluted the meaning of college for many who attend: there is no sharp break from high school, but rather a relatively casual transition and an expectation that college is an essential step to entering the jobs and the social worlds of the better white-collar milieux. These students do not expect to be changed, any more than they (or, in large measure, their parents) expect this from high school, and the institutions of the student culture may be regarded as forms of inoculation against change.¹⁶

At the same time, this very expansion of higher education, this assumption in many

strata that attending college is the regular thing, is an aspect of a general cultural shift in which "collegiate" values have become more broadly disseminated. Some of those who chose against odds to go to college in previous generations were profoundly influenced, not to say uprooted; but many others—the coon-coated *jeunesse dorée* of the 1920s, for example—were more thoroughly insulated against change than most of their seemingly indolent successors are today. Hence, I am inclined to think that if Jacob had done his study a generation earlier he would have found even less emancipation as the result of attending college (though, arguably, more easily verbalized principle and commitment) than at present. Recent opinion polls make clear that the college-educated differ substantially in outlook from those who have not attended college—a paradox to faculties who believe themselves impotent and to students who believe themselves thoroughly defended against being influenced. Stouffer's *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties* (though he does not break his data down by type of college) makes this loosening and liberating effect amply clear. It is most dramatically visible in the South. Even though the southern colleges discussed by Jacob show up as the least emancipated, nevertheless, the southerner who goes to college for four years takes a giant step, coming to approximate the values shared by the college-educated cadres in the United States as a whole—preparing himself in this way to move into the national upper-middle-class executive and professional world with its urbanity and flexibility.¹⁷

Despite inundation, colleges get "better" in much the same way that unionized industry does: there is improved management, better organization (including larger staffs for personnel and like ancillary affairs), better "tools" (in terms of texts, readings, carefully planned examinations, etc.),¹⁸ so that "productivity"

¹⁵ Jacob discusses the students' widespread condoning of cheating on exams as if this betokened a clear rejection of intellectual norms as well as of moral ones; no doubt it frequently does. But, as Hartshorne and May warned, it is easy to over-interpret cheating. At some colleges, students cheat to get into graduate school or to keep their scholarships, while still engaging actively in intellectual and artistic pursuits—and if some students do this, other may feel forced to do so, either in academic self-defense or so as not to appear as plagues and rate-busters.

¹⁶ There is a good deal of scattered evidence, not considered by Jacob, concerning traumatic changes where college proves disorienting to students. Cf., e.g., Stuart D. Loomis and Arnold W. Green, "The Pattern of Mental Conflict in a Typical State University," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 42 (July, 1947), pp. 342-345; and Dana L. Farnsworth, *Mental Health in College and University*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957, especially Chapter 4. I agree with Jacob that college should not be innocuous, but experience at several of the colleges of undoubted potency gives me a vivid sense of the possible casualties of impact. To be sure, bored alumni twenty years after graduation, who never read a book, are perhaps also casualties, though ambulatory ones.

¹⁷ Those southerners who attend but do not graduate from college show up in Stouffer's data as closer to the values of the high school graduate than to those of the college graduate. The Jacob Report does not discuss the impact of college on the many students who flunk out in their first or second year at the big, non-selective state universities, nor do I know of any investigation of these drop-outs—to discover, for instance, whether they harbor deep resentments against the educated, or a continuing hunger, or matter-of-factness, or an affectless veneer about their encounter with college. Nor do we have comparisons of those who graduate from a junior college with those who leave after two years at a four-year institution.

¹⁸ Jacob cites the various studies in which the F-scale or some other test for authoritarianism or rigidity has been administered to college popula-

slowly rises and the general upper-middle-class community becomes perceptibly more exposed to intellectual culture. Correspondingly, I believe it is a misunderstanding of the present student generation in the leading colleges to regard it as "materialistic," as Jacob does. While it seems clear that these students are not idealistic or radical or politically concerned in the manner of students in other countries,¹⁹ it does not follow that they are simply self-centered hedonists. There is no evidence that they are hungry for possessions or financial gain. They want salaries, which seem to me rather modest, to support, not splendor, but an unostentatious "good life" (though they don't fully appreciate how much this costs)—a life that, for them, includes *civic* concerns in the suburb but not *political* ones in the world at large. They are hoping to become affectionate spouses and parents; they are devout believers in decent personal relations—and this is one source of the tolerance and lack of bigotry that Jacob notes. In clinging to such hopes and standards, these students seem to me markedly idealistic, however much one might criticize their limited goals. Both cross-generational misunderstandings and changes in the semantics by which idealism is concealed and revealed may

tions. And he discusses the work which has been done, notably by George Stern and Robert Pace at Syracuse and Benjamin Bloom at Chicago, on the sort of classroom atmosphere in which students of this bent learn most readily. I am leaving out of this review consideration of this whole area of fitting teaching techniques to specific student personality types, though undoubtedly any full-scale investigation of faculty impact and student resistance—and of student impact and faculty resistance—would have to take account of classroom atmosphere. And, of course, classroom atmosphere reflects campus-wide atmosphere, as well as the more general pressures from outside. Compare, e.g., a study of Lauren Wispe which showed that students who themselves preferred a permissive instructor who encouraged their participation yet would choose a directive and authoritarian one in a highly competitive and examination-oriented university: "Evaluating Section Teaching Methods in the Introductory Course," *Journal of Educational Research*, 45 (November, 1951), pp. 161-186.

¹⁹ There is some slight evidence, though it scarcely appears in the Gillespie and Allport study previously mentioned, that European students are becoming in these respects more like the American ones, especially, of course, in the wealthier and more democratic countries. Compare, e.g., Karl Bednarik, *The Young Worker of To-day: A New Type*, translated by Renée Tupholme, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955; and Hans Rogger, "Frustration and Boredom in Russian Youth," *The Reporter*, 18 (February, 20, 1958), pp. 17-20.

serve to confuse researchers as to the motives of students today.²⁰

To summarize: the lack of specific impact of colleges today on many of their students is a tribute to their *general* effectiveness. The middle-brow culture of America has been decisively influenced by academic values, both through attendance at college and spread of "collegiate" values through the major networks, the Luce and similar publications, professional and business conventions, and in-service training. The words "hick" and "rube" have almost disappeared from the lexicon of epithet; high schools have not only many of the trappings of college but, at their suburban and rare urban best, are academically in advance of the poorer colleges; and freshmen in college, seldom treated as "frosh" to be hazed, are quick to catch on to what the going image of the college is. Indeed, the very receptivity of a large number of able college students today may give faculty members accustomed to a headier dialectic the feeling of dealing with shadows. But this very cool precocity of the better students helps immunize them, by the process of partial incorporation, against further openness to heterodoxy. They may in fact be unconsciously willing to permit their teachers to form a depressed and despairing estimate of them, in order to be spared in this way the dangers of commitment, of perhaps unsettling involvement in the pre-occupations of the faculty, while preserving the right to condemn the faculty for its lack of contact with them.

In this new situation which is the result of widespread cultural advance, it is quite possible that the effectiveness of some of the small liberal arts colleges (as revealed by the Wesleyan

²⁰ Much of the evidence in the Jacob Report is based on pen-and-pencil tests, but even the so-called projective tests may not always serve to evoke the values of the willer students: certainly, the F-scale will not catch many contemporary modulations of bigotry and I suspect that even the TAT, though not readily faked, may not muster the affective gamut of the most sophisticated students. Indeed, the latter may not care to take tests: thus, the seniors at Vassar, being less docile and conventional than the freshmen, have been more resistant to submitting to psychological tests and questionnaires (which, at least in the Ivy League, are associated with the hidden persuaders and conformity), until convinced of their importance and relevance.

Since writing the foregoing, I have had a chance to read Otto Butz, *The Unsilent Generation*, New York: Rinehart, 1957, in which eleven Princeton seniors anonymously "tell all": they appear to me an odd lot, more exhibitionistic, more given to slogans, and more smugly disturbed than the Princeton students I have had contact with.

studies) may in part reflect the presence of many students who, to start with, are not cosmopolitan enough to escape their teachers, and also the fact that the extra-curricular activities of these colleges provide only meagre competition with the curriculum. The small size and non-metropolitan setting of these colleges, facilitating close contact between students and faculty, would seem to be a factor in this process. Thus, many readers of *Changing Values in College* will conclude that the principal institutions which create a definite counter-culture are the small, non-mass institutions not dominated by a graduate faculty.²¹ Yet close contact per se is obviously not the whole story, for it is not an undiluted blessing when students are taught by men primarily preoccupied with them, rather than with research; the most effective colleges in the Jacob Report include those, like Antioch, Reed, Swarthmore, and Wesleyan, where faculty members actively engaged in scholarship help induct their best students into it. I wish studies were available of Columbia College and the College of the University of Chicago, where semi-autonomous faculties, embarked on demanding and adventurous programs

²¹ My colleague, James S. Coleman, has clarified for me, on the basis of his current study of high school climates, how in a big school the faculty appears to the students as a monolithic entity, and vice versa, even if the student-teacher ratio is as favorable as at a small college—the differences are analogous to those between the large and small print shops discussed in S. M. Lipset, Martin Trow, and J. S. Coleman, *Union Democracy*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956.

of general education, have had considerable impact even in metropolitan milieux. As the general level of schooling rises and the numbers of entrants also increase, it becomes more imperative for the top universities, which attract such very able students, to see what can be done to live up to their new potential. While colleges, like all other institutions, waste talent, it is at the top that the possibilities for aliveness are often most neglected, in part because the students who come are already highly selected, serious, and intelligent, and emerge not less so. Many weaker colleges would be glad to have such a problem; many stronger ones do not know what to do with the leverage they possess.

The studies gathered in the Jacob Report will not inform them, but the spirit that animates the Report may help spark a greater interest in comparative studies of institutions of the higher learning. And the comparisons must be, of course, not only of colleges with each other, but of colleges with the rest of the society. Professor Jacob and I can agree that we do not want colleges to polish people for corporate or professional success as Alphas in a Brave New World, nor do we want universities to become ganglia in the chain of communication in a Garrison State. But suppose, perchance, that we can escape both fates; what then? Is it not possible that the wry, resonant, and deflated quality of some of the most gifted and sensitive students—students who, seen as individuals, are in my judgment superior to their vaunted predecessors—reflects a malaise no single institution can greatly affect?

BOOK REVIEWS

The Quest for Identity. By ALLEN WHEELIS. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1958. 250 pp. \$3.95.

On Shame and the Search for Identity. By HELEN MERRELL LYND. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1958. 318 pp. \$5.75.

Who am I? Where do I belong? Where am I going? Indeed, where *should* I be going? These are the recurring questions of all ages. They are the crucial questions of our age. And these are the questions with which these two very different, but each in its own way superb, books are concerned.

Concomitant with the radical transformation in our technology have come equally radical transformations in our values. Our former individualistic work-success ethic is slipping away to an ethic of sociability and togetherness. Our former future-time orientation demanding strategic life goals is changing to a present-time orientation making possible only tactical expediencies as life goals. Autonomy, as Fromm, Erikson, and Riesman among others have been pointing out, is giving way to compliance, and the aim of behavior is not personal integrity but group consensus, not rectitude but adjustment. Morality has become a statistical rather than an ethical concept: morality is what the group thinks is moral. Man may still be the measure of all things, but, as Wheelis remarks, it is no longer the inner man that measures; it is the other man.

Having lost faith in religion, forsaken social causes, given up a sense of his own ultimate worth, modern man is spiritually a displaced person. He has suffered this loss in meaning and direction because he has suffered loss in identity. For identity is the coherent sense of self, the awareness of who one is and what one is becoming, that provides us with the sense of wholeness and integration with the universe and makes conscious choices of right and wrong possible. It depends upon a stable set of values and upon the conviction that one's actions and values are harmoniously related.

It is just this that is the central issue for both Lynd and Wheelis: our internal and external world have become disjointed. There is, as it were, a culture lag between our rapidly shifting values and our ability to integrate these shifts into a stable self-image. Indeed, so great has been the impact of change in recent years that

the "quest" or "search" for a durable identity has become as critical for our time as the study of sexuality was in Freud's time.

Wheelis writing—and writing brilliantly—from the vantage of the practicing psychoanalyst takes as a point of departure his observation of the declining role of the superego in modern man's behavior. He argues that since our society presents a kaleidoscope of rapidly changing values, the superego that results is less well integrated and wields diminished authority. It has accordingly been less well able to exclude psychic elements from consciousness, and many motives which were formerly repressed are now rarely repressed. Hysteria depending upon repression is becoming rare; character disorders involving vague conditions of aimlessness and futility, and reflecting warped ego-functioning, are becoming common.

The most recent types of neurotic suffering have their genesis in the dilemma of over-identification with resulting rigidity in outlook, or under-identification with resulting loss in the sense of self. In the face of this dilemma one must choose between the instrumental process and the institutional process. The one designates a way of life where there are no final goals, the mastery of one problem being followed simply by undertaking the next. The other designates a way of life dominated by the desire for ultimate truths and the quest for transcendental values.

There is no solution to the value problem that will show the way to a condition of man entirely free from conflict. The security created by the instrumental process, though real, is limited; the security created by the institutional process, though unlimited, is illusory. But the path of progress, urges Wheelis, must be one of becoming rather than of remaining, of directions rather than of ends. It is then the instrumental process that points the way toward understanding, control, and freedom. Wheelis' commitment to the instrumental rather than institutional ethic is a logical extension of what he perceives as the meaning of being, at once, a scientist and a humanist.

It is apparent that this is also a book about psychoanalysis in our time. No essay on modern man can neglect the part played by the psychoanalyst in his quasi-prophetic role and by psychoanalysis in its current quasi-religious function. Wheelis presents a remarkably candid and

penetrating discussion of the pitfalls and limitations of the field, and of a psychoanalytic therapist in the making and at work—a discussion all the more remarkable and penetrating since it is presented by a practicing psychoanalyst from within the framework of psychoanalysis itself. He suggests that if we are willing to limit our expectations of what psychoanalysis can do, to conceive of it as a tool of investigation—a means of inquiry rather than a way of life—its usefulness would be enlarged. "To undertake psychoanalysis in quest for identity is to pursue an illusion. What one achieves is not identity, but a more sensitive awareness of thoughts and feelings," he says (p. 173). And he adds in affirmation of both man and the future, "Modern man cannot recapture an identity out of the past; for his old identity was not lost, but outgrown. Identity is not, therefore, to be found; it is to be created and achieved" (p. 205).

This is a book of matchless clarity and elegance of style, with extraordinary Dos Passos-like flashbacks of personal narrative that play counterpoint to the analytic reflections, and flashing insights that stab you at once with the joy of recognition and the pain of self-discovery. It is one of those rare combinations of scientific, artistic, and autobiographical writing that really comes off: it is intellectually rewarding in psycho-social theory, emotionally enriching in personal understanding, and aesthetically refreshing as a literary communication that is intended not only to inform but to delight. Perhaps it informs so well because it delights so much.

Mrs. Lynd's work also receives its impetus from the awareness of the heartbreaking ambiguity of man's place in a world of shifting values. But to say that both Lynd and Wheelis see the same problem is not to imply that they define it in the same terms, derive their observations from the same sources, apply the same methods of analysis, or arrive at the same resolutions. Indeed, it is the signal advantage of having these books together that they do differ in each of these respects and thereby illuminate one another. To read one without the other is to miss something in each. And differing as they do, they inadvertently provide concrete evidence for their own thesis: that we are faced not only with a range of conflicting values but with a range of resolutions that are themselves in conflict. Stylistically, where Wheelis uses the "language of precision," Mrs. Lynd prefers the "language of abundant meaning," risking—no, inviting—ambiguity of communication, for, she feels, a purposeful ambiguity has its uses in delineating human experience. Substantively, where Wheelis is brilliantly descriptive, Mrs. Lynd intends to

be constructive and seminal. Wheelis seeks rational perceptions of what is; Mrs. Lynd goes beyond to compassionate imagination of what might be, seeking, as it were, to "construct something upon which to rejoice." Thus, although her formulations sometimes appear over-extended, indeed even mystical, in the light of current theory, they may finally be more creative in the sense of opening new areas for speculation and systematic inquiry.

The point of departure for Mrs. Lynd is the distinction between guilt and shame, and the discovery of the meaning of identity through the analysis of the experience of shame. Guilt is generated when a crime is committed, a boundary transgressed. The reference is violation of a specific code, not a shortcoming in the self. Shame on the other hand is a wound to one's self-esteem. It may be generated by the consciousness of having done something unworthy of one's previous idea of one's excellence. Or it may be generated by the sudden awareness of an incongruity between oneself and the social situation. In either case it is not others but oneself that one has let down. It is not the superego that has been violated but the self-ideal.

If, as is said, Freud attempted to solve the riddle of personality by exploring the phenomenon of guilt, Lynd seeks to disclose the meaning of identity by exploring the feeling of shame. For experiences of shame uncover at once unrecognized aspects of one's self and of one's society. In a sense, shame may be used as the glass through which to see identity. If we face these revelations instead of seeking to protect ourselves from them, they will show us who we are, and hence point toward who and what we may become. Shame points beyond the values of mere cultural relativism to more universal human values, both for one's self and one's society. These revelations give us the direction and in fact obligation not only to change ourselves but also, if need be, to change society. In contrast to Wheelis' view, our identifications must include values transcending our time, place, problems, or even immediate understanding. Our final identity must be consonant with more than a limited reality. For "a realism that excludes the longer, enduring purposes of men and men's unrealized dreams is less than full realism. Dreams need not be illusions" (p. 219).

My enthusiasm for the two books is I hope by now no secret. Each is in its own way distinguished in conception, thoughtful in presentation, and in the best sense *human*. They take their place with such topical books of similar conceptual orientation as *Escape from Freedom*, *Childhood and Society*, and *The Lonely Crowd*

—books which surely have the immediate excitement of timeliness and, one ventures to think, the ultimate quality as well of timelessness.

J. W. GETZELS

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Psychology and Religion: West and East. By C. G. JUNG. Translated by R. F. C. HULL. Bollingen Series XX. New York: Pantheon Books, 1958. xiii, 690 pp. \$6.00.

For exactly a century now, the best theologians have been looking to the best psychologists to rescue theology for them. It was in 1857, writing to his old Oxford tutor, that the greatest British religious figure of his century, Archbishop Temple, put into clear English what had been muddled in German ever since the time of Schleiermacher: "Our theology has been cast in a scholastic mould," he noted, "all based on logic. We are in need of, and we are actually being forced into, a theology based on psychology." (*Memoirs of Archbishop Temple*, II, 517).

The greatest psychologist of the century, Freud, was all but oblivious to this need among the religious. When Freud did hear the call, late in life, he anathemized it in *The Future of an Illusion* and rendered it peculiar and unchristian in *Moses and Monotheism*. His one-time heir-apparent, C. G. Jung, has not been hostile to the theologians; nor, in his writings on religion, has he played the believing Protestant, as Freud played the unbelieving Jew. Jung has been far too intent on supplying a new basis for theology to be either polemical or personal, as Freud was in the genius of his effort in *Moses*.

No one can recognize the exact wording of Jung's title to greatness. However it may be explained and qualified, that title will depend in part upon the success of his powerful and subtle attempt to install a psychology where once theology reigned. Religious appreciation for Jung grows very slowly. The religious, especially in America, do not yet know where to turn for help; they are deterred especially from turning to Jung by the general hostility towards him precisely because of his religious turn. Timid, busy, and badly educated as they are, the religious professionals have had neither the time nor the intellectual energies necessary to realize that the man for whom they have waited for more than a century is now among them, that a psychology of archetypes stands waiting for them to adapt and popularize instead of their archaic theologies. Jung himself has understood the importance of his offer; his lectures on psychology and religion, which make up part of

this important volume, are a deliberate effort to make the religious understand that they must develop a psychological outlook if they expect others to develop a religious outlook. To Jung the religious and the psychological are linked inseparably. And he understands that if the religious of the past are no longer alive enough to develop a psychological outlook, then the psychology of the present will have to assume a religious outlook.

In his own experience as a therapist, Jung has discovered what he believes to be the mood of discontent in our civilization as a whole. It is a mood born of "the meaninglessness of life that causes the disturbance in the unconscious." As for his patients over the age of thirty-five, so for a mature civilization the "problem" is "in the last resort" finding "a religious outlook on life." This is a dangerous thing to say, even among depth psychologists. But here Jung, as a protestant against both the instinctualism and rationalism of psychoanalytic orthodoxy, has taken his stand. The normally disillusioned life, which was the most for which Freud had hoped, appears to Jung totally inadequate as a therapeutic goal. Therefore, he has constructed a new "meaning" for it all, one that will be psychological and religious at the same time. The construction is shaky, the ground mysterious—but the effort is undoubtedly important and in this volume, perhaps better than in any other Jung has put together, the reader can find the effort strained to its present limit.

For any reader accustomed to the elegance and coherence of Freud's style, or indeed to the clean lines of good English prose, a few pages of Jung can be a discouraging experience. He is discursive, pompous; his style varies from sermonette through excursus to the main point again, which is then repeated as though writing were the transcript of a long hortatory conversation with a sleepy disciple. Moreover, Jung is an erudite in the 18th century sense of the word. He pours every scrap of his knowledge into his books; every piece of data is used; nothing can be left out because, being historically sophisticated, Jung knows that nothing historical, viewed psychologically, has merely antiquarian interest. Thus his volume is filled at almost every page with heaped boulders of incidental erudition, which the modern reader has been trained to treat as obstacles but in which the 18th century reader delighted, as monuments that indicated the way was worth taking—the longer way round the better. And too often Jung dogmatizes where the reader of English prose expects explanation or at least argument.

Nevertheless, Jung is not a dogmatic writer. His adventures in the field of directly religious

commentary are more tentative and exploratory than were Freud's. The volume here noted contains perhaps as much as any reader needs to have of Jung's commentary on religious questions. But here, as in any of the *Collected Works*, of which this is Volume 11, the reader needs to keep Jung's general theory of archetypes clearly and competently in mind. Without the theory of archetypes, the reader cannot make sense enough of his writings on religion to take them either seriously or unseriously. Nor can Jung be taken seriously by being placed at some angle of deviation from Freud. Since 1912, Jung has travelled a long way on his own, so far, in fact, that comparisons with Freud can usefully be made only at significantly infrequent intervals. That Jung has remained deeply involved in the work and achievement of Freud cannot be doubted. Because he is so involved, he has, by the frequency and even generosity of his reference, encouraged comparisons that can only obscure the fact that these are two minds now with nothing in common. Not even the idea of the Unconscious can be said to be held in common, for the form, not to mention the contents, of the Unconscious is wholly different in the theories of the two psychologists.

In this brief review I can do little more than note the significance of the volume for theologians and others searching for some fresh language of ultimate meaning. To those who have abandoned the quest, or reformulated it so that the direction is neither upwards to God nor downwards to the Unconscious, this volume will mean little or nothing and perhaps even be nearly unreadable. This is no reflection on the book or its audience. Every book has its proper audience and the audience for this book will not come from among contemporary social scientists. We suffer from what Jung calls "the urban neurosis of atheism." Social scientists will not readily agree that God, far from being a negation, is "actually the strongest and most effective 'position' the psyche can reach." Jung is here assuming that in every man—and in every culture—there is a god-term. From this it follows, for Jung, that the "strongest and therefore the decisive factor in any individual psyche compels the same belief or fear, submission or devotion which a God would demand from man." To learn that "anything despotic and inescapable is in this sense 'God,'" is a conclusion that will alienate the liberal majority among the religious and further confirm the theoretical skepticism of social scientists. Not even Durkheim's ultimate sociolatry, in which society became the despotic and inescapable God, now persuades the sociologist, who has seen at last how yield-

ing and porous is every modern social system in its profusion of sub-systems.

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The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations. By FRITZ HEIDER. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958. ix, 322 pp. \$6.25.

Those who have known, in spite of the brevity of Professor Heider's previously published work, of the long years that he has painstakingly devoted to the preparation of this book will find in it just what they have been hoping for—the distillation of half a lifetime's insight and wisdom about the psychology of "knowing" other persons. Those who are attracted to the volume primarily by its title may find some disappointments since its central problem is cognitive rather than behavioral "relations." "The cognitive matrix that underlies our interpretations of other people's behavior and our attempts to influence it"—this is the subject of his inquiry.

A cultivated naivete underlies this book. "Common-sense psychology" is not only "an essential part of the phenomena in which we are interested" but also it "may be of value because of the truths it contains," he notes at the outset (p. 5). Again, three pages from the end: "Psychology is still in an infantile stage . . . and should not be weaned prematurely from unformulated and intuitive thinking" (p. 295). Such an approach, which is reflected on nearly every page between, might be resented on the part of a psychologist less familiar than Heider with the experimental literature (especially regarding perception), but he has earned the right to take it, and in his case it is part and parcel of the naive curiosity that the good scientist never loses.

The following "fundamental concepts," as listed on page 18, are probably more revealing of the book's contents than are its chapter titles: *life space, perceiving, causing, can, trying, wanting, suffering, sentiments, belonging, ought*. It is one of the minor annoyances of the book that about half of these "fundamental concepts" have no references in the index, other than to the introductory chapter. If the reviewer may make his own selections among the notions both central to and distinctive of Heider's argument in this book, they are indicated by the italicized words in the following much oversimplified summary of that argument.

The perception of persons, as of size, shape, and color, is mediate, not immediate. Since it is necessary to find stabilities in a world of ever-changing appearances, we "interpret" events

in terms of the principle of *perceptual constancy*. Perception is directed toward invariant properties of and relations among things perceived, and in social perception these invariances correspond to psychological *dispositional properties*—e.g., wishes, intentions, beliefs—of other persons. Thus interpersonal perception requires the *attribution* to others of such dispositional properties. Central in all of these processes is the search for *personal causality* and its separation from impersonal causality. "Attribution of personal causality reduces the necessary conditions [of interpretation] essentially to one, the person with intention" (p. 102). The nature of these attributions varies, of course, not only with the interpersonal events observed but also with the properties of the perceiver, and foremost among these are *sentiments*, which are rather explicitly equated with person-object relationships of "liking" and "disliking." Sentiments toward objects (including persons) characterized by the *unit relation* (i.e., which "belong together") have system properties that are governed by the principle of the *balanced state*, in which there is "no pressure toward change, either in the cognitive organization or in the environment" (p. 176). Observed events are "always interpreted in terms of the relatively invariant contents of the world around us. These contents must be consistent with each other, and that means that we have definite ideas about fittingness, about consonance and dissonance" (p. 297).

To this reviewer, Chapter 7 (entitled "Sentiment," but devoted almost entirely to the problem of balance among sentiments) is the high point of the book. It adds much, both in richness and in systematization, to the earlier, pioneering contributions of Professor Heider to the phenomena of cognitive balance. Never before has it been argued so astutely that we "see" people, together with the things and events associated with them, in terms of attributions which, because of their positive and negative evaluations, have a system-requiredness of balance.

The author's problem, clearly, is not a sociological one. "The two-person group [and, by inference, larger groups] and its properties as a superindividual unit will not be the focus of attention" (p. 1). Sociologists, nonetheless, have much to learn from him—not just because any discipline needs to learn from its nearest neighbor on the more microcosmic side, but also because the book is full of human wisdom.

The reviewer, perhaps too much the purist, found many occasions to wish that the publisher's Vice President in Charge of Punctuation had performed his editorial duties more systematically; commas, semicolons, and quotation marks often seem to obey no observable

laws. And his colleague in charge of grammar never did succeed in making up his mind whether certain words (e.g., "try") should be considered verbs or gerunds, nor whether to add the "ing." A conscientiously written book deserves conscientious editing.

THEODORE NEWCOMB

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Professional Ethics and Civic Morals. By EMILE DURKHEIM. Translated by CORNELIA BROOKFIELD. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. xlv, 228 pp. \$5.00.

With the translation of these lectures—published in France in 1950 as *Leçons de sociologie: Physique des mœurs et du droit*—a significant gap in our knowledge of Durkheim has been filled. This volume now makes possible an analysis of Durkheim's theory of the state, of contract, and property rights. First delivered at Bordeaux in 1898–9, this series was repeated at the Sorbonne in 1904–5, 1910–11, and 1914–15. Their importance to Durkheim's system is emphasized in his pivotal essay, "On the Determination of Moral Facts." The moral reality *sui generis* that comprises a society can be studied only indirectly through its operative rules: family, professional, civic, property, and contractual. Every society uses sanctions to ensure compliance with its rules. Since in modern society the state has steadily added to the number of rules enforced by legal sanctions, sociology cannot shirk the task of determining just what are the values expressed in and through the political system. This part of Durkheim's program has been neglected by many of his apolitical admirers.

It was during the first half of his career that Durkheim most concerned himself with political institutions, which bulked large in the *Division of Labor* and his Latin thesis on Montesquieu. There Durkheim mounted a powerful attack upon the classical political philosophers who exemplified for him the *a priori* theory of human nature and the disregard for empirical data which had thus far blocked the development of a true science of society. His own theory of the state might be expected to include a detailed account of how and why political institutions in a given society operate as they do. In these lectures his procedure is more philosophical than sociological. Searching for the presuppositions of rules, Durkheim produces little evidence for his broad policy recommendations and depends too much on definitions of such terms as "state" and "political society." So in his lectures on Socialism, from the meanings he himself assigned to his key terms he

drew conclusions which were purely formal but which he represented as substantive.

At the heart of his political theory is his distinction between "political society" and "state." A "political society" is made up of a number of secondary social groups which submit to a sovereign authority not itself subject to any regularly constituted higher authority. The "state" is the special group of officials who represent the sovereign authority; it "thinks" and takes decisions for the political. This is not to say that the state incarnates the *conscience collective*, but it does elaborate certain of the society's representations and volitions. Courts and armies are not part of the state, which Durkheim defines as not executive but deliberative. The cabinet and parliament do not themselves act, but from them emanate the orders upon which others act. The state, like the central nervous system, coordinates the secondary organs that make up the body politic. This is Durkheim's adaptation of Saint-Simon's belief that in industrial society the state will administer but not govern, a notion taken over by both Marx and Lenin. They differed from Durkheim in that they could envision the elimination of political power only after revolution; Durkheim thought this development to be implicit, and even partially realized, in societies organized on the principle of organic solidarity.

From Aristotle, of whom he was so critical, Durkheim had learned to describe his own position as a mean that avoided two opposite and extreme competing theories. In this case his targets were the narrow individualist and the mystical theories of the state. The first, exemplified by Spencer, sees in the individual the source of all that is real and valuable in society; the state adds nothing. Against this view Durkheim argues that only as the state has increased its power, have individual rights been granted. The state liberated the individual from all previous masters: patriarch, family, city-state, feudal lord, commune, and corporation. Does Durkheim contend, then, that the state is the realization of freedom and as such transcends the individuals who compose it? On the contrary, Durkheim rejects this position as mysticism and identifies it with Hegel.

Durkheim recognized that the state, although once a liberating force, may in turn tyrannize over the individual if there are no countervailing forces in society. Thus if none exist, they must be created in the form of secondary groups, professional or occupational. Here Durkheim makes explicit the connection between political and social aspects of *anomie*: the malaise of modern man stems from the fact that the whole weight of society rests upon individuals unprotected by intermediate social units. The

political function of such groups would be to prevent the state from crushing the isolated individual; their social function, to counter *anomie* by providing rules and institutions in areas of life where none had existed.

It is a novelty of these lectures that Durkheim goes on to qualify sharply both this praise of the secondary group and his usual rehearsal of what individuals owe to society. Every group, he remarks, imposes certain models of thought and action, any deviation from which is punished. Thus every group is despotic if no exterior force restrains it. But once there are competing aggregates, then, out of their clash individual liberties may be created and sustained. Thus secondary groups should be checked by the state and the state checked by secondary groups. This is perhaps the only place where he attributes a positive function to conflict. That this occurs in his study of politics indicates the depth of his commitment to Liberalism.

Perhaps Durkheim's most original contribution to political theory is his concept of democracy, which anticipates attempts recently made under the influence of cybernetics to study political processes in terms of the communication network linking different parts of a society. For Durkheim, the distinctive quality of a democracy is not the alleged identity between government and ruled, but the relatively close communication between them. This is a matter of degree, for no state, however absolute, breaks off all contacts. But in this case, degree is all important and can be measured by the development of institutionalized communications. Unlike that part of his political theory which depended on tautology, this hypothesis can be tested, although its author never did so.

Of interest, too, is Durkheim's view of bureaucracy. Although he admits that it alone maintained stability in France, he nevertheless refused to regard it as a normal part of the state. Much more rewarding are his sections on the origins of contract and property, which some may consider to be the most suggestive parts of this volume.

Although the publishers are to be commended for making these lectures available, they really ought to set a higher editorial standard than has been achieved here. Miss Brookfield's sentence structure is clear enough but her choice of terms raises the question of her familiarity with Durkheim's subject and with previous translations of his work. It has become recognized practice not to translate "*conscience collective*" because the French phrase may mean either "consciousness" or "conscience." By plumping for "consciousness," Miss Brookfield distorts Durkheim's meaning, as on p. 219. And in his introduction, M. Davy remarks that

Durkheim's theory of the professional group was conceived before the experiments "*de corporatisme et neo-corporatisme*." This reference to Italian and Portuguese experience is quite lost when translated as "experiments with corporative associations or trade-unions and new versions of the old system." The bibliography contained in the edition printed in France and Turkey has been omitted.

MELVIN RICHTER

Hunter College

Sociologie et Problèmes Actuels. By ARMAND CUVILLIER. Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1958. 198 pp. No price indicated, paper.

Only a small proportion of American sociologists have a thorough knowledge of the work of their European colleagues in general and of the French in particular. M. Cuvillier's book might therefore be recommended as a short and readable sample of the impressive postwar output of the French sociologists. But unfortunately the sample is not representative—and the book contains no new material.

The book consists of six essays (all previously published as articles in learned journals) gathered together in celebration of the centenary of the death of Comte and the birth of Durkheim. Part of the strength of French sociology derives from continued application to the problems and methods set by these two masters. M. Cuvillier in his own work has attempted to contribute to this tradition and if he interprets his heritage too narrowly it is nonetheless true that his writings range over the sociology of law, the theory of knowledge, the relation between sociology and economics, and the history of ideas in relation to social structure. The essay on the theory of knowledge is reproduced from Cuvillier's preface to Durkheim's *Pragmatisme et Sociologie* and the relation of sociology to economics is discussed in the context of Comte's attack on the unscientific nature of the economic writings of his time.

M. Cuvillier is at his best in the fourth essay where he traces the development of the notion of class conflict among French sociological writers, notably Saint-Simon, during the half century preceding the appearance of the Communist Manifesto of 1848. The interest here lies in the process rather than in the commonplace conclusion that Marx did not invent the basic Marxist ideas. The same can be said of Darwin and neither Marx nor Darwin would have claimed otherwise.

But perhaps the most useful essay for the American reader is the author's survey of current trends in French sociology. This constitutes a convenient and well-arranged selection

of the more important references. Cuvillier's views, and especially his antipathy to phenomenology will be familiar to readers of his *Où va la sociologie française?* Again the drum is beaten for middle range theory and the interplay of theory and fact. Again "*l'empirisme sans idées*" is duly castigated. One wonders however, after the last ten years of discussion, whether anyone open to conviction on this issue remains unconvinced.

A. H. HALSEY

University of Birmingham, England

Clinical Studies in Culture Conflict. Edited by GEORGE SEWARD. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1958. xvii, 598 pp. \$7.00.

The effort to consider cultural factors in the diagnosis of mental patients represents a facet of the increasing rapprochement between clinicians and sociologists. Twenty cases are presented in this book in which culture conflict or minority status is considered as a major factor in the etiology of the mental disturbance. Represented among the cases are Negroes, American Indians, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, Japanese, Jews, and recent immigrants from Europe. All are residents of the United States and most are American citizens. For each case there is reported a life history, a description of the mental disturbance and its onset, the results of medical and psychological examinations, and a diagnosis in which the culture conflict or minority status figures as a major influence. Some of the reports include a brief description of the general problems facing the minority group under consideration, and where this does not occur the editor provides it in a "preview." The editor is a professor of psychology at the University of Southern California; the majority of contributors are also clinical psychologists, although others are psychiatrists with M.D. degrees and two are anthropologists.

All of the authors consider that culture conflict in one form or another has played a major role in the mental disorders of their patients; implicitly they reject a biological or physiological determinism. Some of the authors do a most perceptive cultural analysis when interpreting the protocols of projective tests. Yet the editor and several of the authors betray a limited conception of culture. Sometimes culture is implicitly analyzed as something *added to* personality, rather than as an integral part of personality. The heuristic division between the individual and his culture is taken as real, both in the general chapters and in several of the case studies. The individual is often seen as *confronting* a cultural conflict, not as *incorporating* a culture conflict. For example, one pair of

authors write, "the severe distortions in behavior were . . . the product of culture conflict superimposed on specific aspects of personality development" (p. 245).

We sociologists and anthropologists have achieved a mixture with the clinicians; we have not yet achieved a compound—to use an analogy from chemistry. Still, some of the authors have acquired a keen understanding of the cultural problems in the lives of their patients, and all of them are open-minded. The volume represents another landmark in the development of a fruitful collaboration of the social and the clinical sciences.

ARNOLD M. ROSE

University of Minnesota

Occupations and Values. By MORRIS ROSENBERG.

With the assistance of EDWARD A. SUCHMAN and ROSE K. GOLDSSEN. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. ii, 158 pp. \$4.00.

This is a study of occupational choice among 944 Cornell University students based on two surveys in 1950 and 1952. The research was based on the promise that occupational choice is a function of (a) values held toward occupation and life, (b) basic attitudes toward people, (c) personality needs, and (d) status and roles. The basic occupational values were: (a) opportunity for self-expression, (b) opportunity to work with people, and (c) opportunity for extrinsic rewards.

Research findings indicated that student values corresponded to those found in preferred occupations, and that a greater convergence was exhibited over time. Moreover, the attitudes expressed in the "faith in people scale" critically separated the creativity-oriented, money-oriented, and service-oriented occupational groups. Thus occupational choice may reflect a more general value complex revolving around one's view of humanity. Three personality types were derived: compliant, aggressive, and detached. A rough association was found to exist between the compliant type and the choice of human-oriented occupations, between the aggressive type and reward occupations, and between the creative type and detached occupations.

When structural factors were assessed sex and economic status appeared most relevant. More women preferred human-oriented occupations while richer students preferred money-oriented occupations. Confirmatory evidence was provided that the majority of students changed occupational choices and that these changes occurred most in the least specialized occupations and toward customary occupations such as business and homemaking. The conflict between desired and expected occupations decreased in

time in a direction more consistent with the students' basic values.

In a discussion of the means of success the authors demonstrate that a strong desire for success is highly related to the desire for high income. The latter in turn is fundamental to both high success drive and the use of socially disapproved means of making money. Further, the money-oriented see the occupational world more in a power-manipulation context than do others.

This is an imaginative, exciting, and well-executed study which should stimulate research in occupational sociology. Unfortunately, since the sample is not representative of college students in the nation, generalizations are limited. It is also regrettable that the very substantial literature related to the research findings was largely ignored. More important, the study would have profited by a theoretical discussion of the relationships among the elements: social values, structural characteristics of the labor market, dominant American attitudes, and personality structure. Only then could probability statements be derived concerning the relative importance or direction of influence among the elements. However, with the excellent empirical base provided by this study, it is all the more urgent to pursue the study of values, structure, attitudes, and personality types in actual situations.

WILLIAM H. FORM

Michigan State University

Talent and Society: New Perspectives in the Identification of Talent. By DAVID C. McCLELLAND, ALFRED L. BALDWIN, URIE BRONFENBRENNER and FRED L. STRODTBECK. Princeton, N. J.: Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1958. 288 pp. \$3.75.

This book, written collaboratively by four social psychologists, is not easy for an economist to review for sociologists. In point of fact it is not strictly speaking a book but a report of the Committee on the Identification of Talent, established in 1951 by the Social Science Research Council with support from the Markle Foundation.

Responding to the growing social awareness that high ability is a scarce resource that if not properly nurtured will go to waste and further recognizing that refinements in measuring intellectual ability were likely to yield diminishing returns, the authors explored new directions, particularly those aspects of talent which would not ordinarily be classified as "abilities." They concentrated on values and motives—non-academic determinants of achievement—and on so-

cial skills and occupational status—non-academic types of achievement.

I can report that the authors' explorations are suggestive and that sociologists will find much of interest, particularly in Strodtbeck's contribution, "Family Interaction, Values and Achievement," in which he studied how differences in cultural and family patterns between Italian and Jewish immigrants in New Haven affected their achievement status.

In addition to McClelland's sensible introduction and measured conclusion, the book contains a long analysis of "The Measurement of Skill in Social Perception" by Urie Bronfenbrenner and associates, a study of "Achievement and Social Status in Three Small Communities" by Kaltenback and McClelland, and an appraisal of "The Role of an 'Ability' Construct in a Theory of Behavior," by Alfred Baldwin. Since the Committee was primarily interested in developing new approaches to the study of talent, it is not surprising that the major importance of these discrete chapters are methodological rather than substantive.

Bronfenbrenner and associates demonstrate that "empathy" is not a single generalized ability and outline a broader conceptual framework within which to study it. Kaltenback and McClelland conclude that the best index of perceived achievement in small communities that can be objectively obtained is "community activity"—i.e. nurse, teacher, banker. Baldwin studies ability in terms of different types of adaptive behavior and argues in favor of explaining the "factors underlying quite different abilities."

In his concluding chapter on "Review and Prospects" McClelland makes the following points. The non-intellectual factors—values, motives, skills—warrant high research priority; the social situation in which talented performance occurs should be subject to thorough study; ways of modifying stable characteristics of persons and of situations should be investigated; at a practical level, increased scholarship aid will not stop talent loss; and finally basic theoretical problems in talent identification and development should receive additional strong support.

This reviewer is in full agreement with the authors that the field of talent warrants more attention and that future work should provide for a careful assessment not only of the individual's traits but of the social situations which influence their development and utilization. He is also sympathetic with the authors' emphasis on the need for "research on basic problems." Yet despite these shared values he is restive at what the authors have done, if not at what they have said. He has no quarrel with their

emphasis on the need for empirical investigations but he is uneasy when methodological preoccupations control, as they apparently have, the type of questions which are given priority. Since more questions can be asked than can be answered by scholars, the touchstone of good research is to ask good questions—that is, those which if answered can advance significantly an understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. In seeking guidance as to the questions to ask, only a theoretical framework can help the investigator choose from among multiple alternative approaches. Such a framework is difficult to develop for a subject that lies athwart many different disciplines. Yet such an effort is mandatory if detailed empirical investigations are to yield worthwhile results.

The temptation is always to do more and better than in which one is already expert. This means that psychologists will ask, and seek to answer, ever more subtle and esoteric questions about talent. And the same is true for sociologists, economists, and humanists. But if the study of talent is to make faster progress in the future than in the past the urgent need is for a broader framework in which place is found for the many facets of this admittedly complex phenomenon. In seeking to develop such a framework, the research investigator must be willing to follow wherever the important questions lead him, even if they take him far afield from his own discipline. He must rise to the subject and not remain shackled to the approved techniques of his own discipline.

But these reflections should not be read as an indictment of the present offering. In science, as in life, one must be satisfied with and grateful for half a loaf. The authors saw a difficult and important subject and ventured to deal with it. In the process they made several worthwhile contributions. Unfortunately a major breakthrough must await the gifted investigator who will be less discipline-bound.

ELI GINZBERG

Columbia University

The Worker Views His Union. By JOEL SEIDMAN, JACK LONDON, BERNARD KARSH, and DAISY L. TAGLIACCOZZO. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958. x, 299 pp. \$5.75.

This book is a solid contribution to the substantial body of literature on how the worker views his union. The book contains six case studies of different unions and a general discussion about them. Although the original studies were done by different authors they have some common research foci. Yet each case stresses some unique themes. Thus, in the coal mine local, controversial issues (strikes in wartime,

concentration of power in Lewis) were investigated and found to be supported by the miners who were bound by strong traditional forces. The study of the plumbers' local in Chicago demonstrated how high craft-consciousness functions to maintain high solidarity in a socially heterogeneous group. The case of the steelworkers shows how a militant mass union maintains internal discipline in the plant (slow-downs, etc.) and gains the support of otherwise apathetic or hostile members. How a factionalized union can maintain a united front against management is analyzed in the metal workers (UAW) union. The study of the telephone operators' local elaborates the problems of securing union identification among middle-class women who are highly identified with the company. The knitting mill case describes how a union is organized and how a strike is won in a small community despite a tradition of loyalty to the dominant family.

In addition to their unique themes all cases explored the following areas: attitudes toward joining the union prior to employment, evaluation of the union and its tactics (striking, picketing), anticipated consequences of union liquidation, occupational aspirations, and attitudes toward company, supervisors, and union officials. A solid base of union loyalty is evident in all of these studies.

The last half of the book attempts to integrate the case findings with those in the literature around the subjects of union leadership, membership participation, and the scope of union activities. These chapters are solid contributions. Documentation is provided to demonstrate that the variability found in leadership recruitment, style of leadership behavior, and the relations between leaders and rank and file members is related to basic structural differences among unions. In the reviewer's mind the authors have provided one of the best and most coherent analyses of membership participation and problems of union democracy found anywhere in the literature. Here again structural factors are examined to account for the full range of formal and informal participation. An equally good analysis follows which deals with the union's social, community, and political activities. Finally, the relevance of all the findings for policy problems facing the union is examined.

We are fortunate to have much of the literature of the "Seidman group" brought together in this book. The case studies are all good descriptions of different types of unions and their unique problems. At the same time they lack a problematic focus. Apparently none of the studies, singly or jointly, was designed to test any of the many sociological propositions

about union organization then current. For example, the studies might have all tested some hypotheses dealing with the relevance of type of union ideology to union participation. Fortunately, data are provided to answer this question. The other shortcoming in this otherwise excellent work is the lack of precise statistical descriptions of the findings.

WILLIAM H. FORM

Michigan State University

Personality and Organization: The Conflict between System and the Individual. By CHRIS ARGYRIS. New York: Harper & Bros., 1957. xiii, 291 pp. \$4.00.

Professor Argyris is best known for several ingenious and interesting case studies of large organizations. To anyone familiar with his previous work, the present book will come as a shock. It represents, the author says, "... my first step at integrating the existing research literature relevant to understanding human behavior in on-going organizations" (p. ix). Elsewhere he explains his intention of drawing upon empirical studies in all the behavioral sciences to provide the basic foundations for a general theory of organizational behavior.

This is a worthy object, and a difficult one. However, *Personality and Organization* turns out to be more a tract than a treatise. The central message is clear enough. Argyris dislikes the large scale organization and the exercise of authority by supervisors. He refers to the "incongruence between the formal organization and the healthy individual" (p. 175, *passim*) with apparent reference to all formal organizations and all healthy individuals. He would like to see the large scale organization as we know it replaced by something he calls the "individual-need oriented group."

It is interesting to compare the heavy-handed dogmatism of Argyris with the light touch of William H. Whyte in *The Organization Man* or the urbane skepticism of Georges Friedmann's *Industrial Society*. In his eagerness to be convincing, the author rides his evidence very hard, as the following examples suggest:

There is ample evidence to show that adaptation by becoming apathetic is increasing on the individual level and spreading to the group level (p. 91).

The available research on formal organizations suggest that if it is to obtain ideal expression, the formal organization will tend to place employees in work situations where they are dependent, subordinate, and submissive (pp. 118-119).

... research shows that under democratic conditions people do tend to feel that they are part of a team and respected. However, this does not mean this will tend to be the case if

a supervisor tries to be pseudo democratic or democratic under autocratic conditions (p. 150).

If anything, this practice of citing unspecified research to prove whatever the author wants to prove at the moment is less disturbing than his reinterpretation of the studies he does specify. It is almost impossible to recognize the results of familiar studies, such as the morale investigation of the Survey Research Center, as Argyris fits them into the framework of his polemic.

There is no reason at all why a scholar should not argue for fundamental changes in the mood and spirit of a social institution, but there are very good reasons why such arguments should not be presented as the fine flowering of empirical research. The separation of fact from fancy in this book is more of a task than most readers will want to undertake.

THEODORE CAPLOW

University of Minnesota

Industriebürokratie: Versuch einer Soziologie des Industrialisierten Bürobetriebes und seiner Angestellten. By HANS PAUL BAHRDT. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1958. viii, 146 pp. DM 13.60, paper.

This is an example of that kind of interpretive writing which seems to be characteristically German and which is sometimes a delight to read and sometimes an unrewarding labor. *Industriebürokratie* has its dull places but on the whole it is an imaginative and on occasions an exciting piece of work; and the second section in particular—on the industrialization of the works office—is to be recommended as providing an especially striking "phase" analysis of developments since the Industrial Revolution.

Dr. Bahrdt begins his book with the usual kind of conceptual discussion in which he considers the terms to be used in the analysis of the social situation of the white-collar worker in the rationalized office of the modern, large-scale enterprise. It cannot be said that he adds much to our understanding on these points, and to the English-speaking sociologist, at any rate, his treatment of the distinction between the objective social conditions confronting an individual and his subjective perceptions of them is a mere elaboration of what by now has become a commonplace. There is also much to be said for the view that conceptual discussions are best dealt with as they arise in the unfolding of the analysis; Dr. Bahrdt's discussion of "class" and "stratification" in the context of the writings of Fritz Croner and Theodor Geiger, interesting though it is, would have been better postponed to the concluding section of his book where he considers the extent to which it is possible to

talk of the white-collar worker having become "bourgeoisified." This section, incidentally, is the least satisfactory of the book. While it raises some fascinating problems—the failure of white-collar workers to develop a proletarian political consciousness, for example, and their failure to become a distinct social class (*Schicht*)—it shows every sign of being hastily put together and there is not the same painstaking care in analysis that marks the preceding sections of the book.

It is thus to the central sections of the book that we must turn to see Dr. Bahrdt at his best and it is here that we see him make most use of the benefits of his wide reading on the one hand and of the experience in industrial research which he shares with his colleagues at Dortmund on the other. The analysis is concerned with the relationship between the hierarchical structure of authority in the office and cooperation both within it and between it and other departments of the enterprise. It is also concerned with office work as a career offering opportunities for movement up the authority hierarchy, largely according to the principle of seniority. In Dr. Bahrdt's opinion the pace-maker in the development of office work has been the production system it serves and he illustrates this with a consideration of the familiar "foreman crisis" in which the development of industrialization results in a loss of technical authority over the operatives and an increased responsibility for administration on the supervisor's part.

In the office proper, Dr. Bahrdt shows that developments follow a parallel course to those in the factory. Office work passes through a "pre-industrial" phase and a "manufacturing" phase before it becomes automatized. Thus the individual clerk responsible for all office routines is replaced by specialist invoice clerks, book-keepers, etc., and eventually by teams of specialists organized hierarchically in a large office with a highly developed division of labor. Special machines are introduced—typewriters for example—to cope with the work but in the "manufacturing" phase these are still under the control of the operator and it is not until we get to the introduction of the Hollerith machine that the office passes into its third and latest phase. Here Dr. Bahrdt discusses some of the problems arising from the employment of new classes of labor, the girls employed in punching holes in cards for example, for whom supervision is very different from that customary in the general office on the one hand and from that which applies to the highly skilled personnel responsible for programming and maintaining electronic machines on the other. Office supervisors, that is to say, are already

beginning to experience their own "foreman crisis," with its corresponding impact on the office career pattern of promotion by seniority.

In a short review it is obviously impossible to do more than give a general impression of the fruitful way in which Dr. Bahrdt has been able to draw parallels between developments in industry and developments in the office and hence to draw upon the established conclusions of industrial sociology and industrial psychology to provide useful ideas about team-work, co-operation, and authority in the office. Of course, much of this work is still exploratory but a valuable service to economic sociology would be performed if this work were to be translated into English.

J. A. BANKS

Liverpool University

The Flow of Information: An Experiment in Mass Communication. By MELVIN L. DE FLEUR and OTTO N. LARSEN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1958. xvii, 302 pp. \$4.50.

"Project Revere," of which this is the first full-length published report, was designed to "map the pathways and search for regularities in the process of message diffusion or communication through human social organizations." To Paul Revere, message diffusion was a simple process and its effects were measured by the number of Minute Men who gathered at Lexington and Concord. Today, the flow of information from source to audience is complex and its effects are uncertain and difficult to measure. The various media have overlapping coverage; the members of the potential audience tend to select media and messages with which they agree; and the desired effects—such as changes in attitudes or buying preferences—are often difficult to define and measure.

Project Revere met these problems by using only one rigidly-controlled source of information, an air-dropped leaflet that asked the finder to do three things: (1) fill out an attached postcard questionnaire, (2) mail it to the project office, and (3) pass on extra leaflets to other members of the community. The leaflets were dropped on eight similar small towns in proportions ranging from one-fourth to thirty-two leaflets per inhabitant. In addition to studying the returned postcard questionnaires, the researchers interviewed a sample of each community to determine the speed of diffusion and the channels through which it took place.

In the first of four Parts, De Fleur and Larsen summarize the work of Project Revere, portions of which have already been reported in the literature, and describe the theoretical background of this study. Their theory draws

mainly on engineering concepts stemming from "information theory" and on recent sociological research on the functions of interpersonal relationships in mass communications. Especially impressive in this section is the careful way in which the results of pre-tests and a pilot study were used in planning the major, eight-community experiment.

Part II begins with an exposition of the value of mathematical models in sociology, followed by the development of a model relating the number of leaflets per capita to the proportion of people in a community who know the message (or who show some other effect of the leaflet, such as mailing back the postcard). This reasoning is then tested with the empirical data from Project Revere, the fit of the model to the data being on the whole very good.

Probably of greatest interest to most sociologists is Part III, in which the process of diffusion is studied on the individual level. There are three independent variables—age, education, and size of family—in addition to the experimentally controlled stimulus intensity (number of leaflets per capita). In general, the relationship between these individual characteristics and knowledge of the message depends on the stimulus intensity: age, sex, and family size had more effect on knowledge and transmission of the message in low-intensity towns than in towns where more leaflets were dropped. Another important component of the total effect is the accuracy with which the message was recalled in the interviews. Those who learned the message from seeing a leaflet, whether they picked it up themselves or received it from another person, were much more accurate than the relatively small group—10 per cent of the total message-knowers—who learned it through "oral diffusion."

Part IV consists of two brief chapters. The first discusses technical questions of validity and reliability, including some interesting findings on the relative accuracy of mail-back questionnaires and personal interviews. The final chapter summarizes the principal findings of the study and relates them to the theoretical material presented earlier.

De Fleur and Larsen consider their "central research challenge" the study of the following hypothesis: "The effectiveness of the mass communicative act depends in determinable ways on the degree to which the media are linked to interpersonal networks and on characteristics of those networks" (p. 31). Although their diligence, technical competence, and theoretical sophistication are impressive, the book as a whole fails to meet this challenge. On the one hand, much material is included that does not

bear on the networks of interpersonal relationships. A quarter of the book is devoted to the development of a logarithmic equation relating stimulus intensity to response on the total-community level. The authors assert that this equation has guided their empirical research and that it helps to explain the rate of message diffusion. But the only research that appears to have been guided by this equation is that designed to test its empirical adequacy, and the material on interpersonal relationships does not appear to have benefited from the mathematical model.

On the other hand, many relevant questions were not asked, either in this book or, apparently, in the other parts of Project Revere. No study can include all the variables that the researchers, let alone the critics, would like to include. But surely a study of networks of interpersonal relationships should describe the persons involved by more than age, sex, and size of family. Education, occupation, prestige, and position in the formal and informal social structures of the community are a few of the variables that come to mind; some of these could easily have been included in the interview schedule. Another significant omission, especially in view of the authors' concern for the dynamics of interaction, is attitudinal and perceptual data. We are told what the subjects knew of the message, but not how they felt about the content of the message or the people with whom they interacted in transmitting it. In sum, the distinctively social aspects of human communication are relatively neglected. Inclusion of such variables in a replication of this ingenious study would very likely lead to further significant advances in our knowledge of mass communications.

HANAN C. SELVIN

University of California, Berkeley

Approaches to the Study of Politics. Edited by ROLAND YOUNG. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1958. xxx, 382 pp. No price indicated.

The twenty-two essays that appear in this volume were commissioned by the Department of Political Science at Northwestern University during a recent seizure of concern about the curriculum. Scholars from various universities were also invited to participate in conferences to discuss the papers with their authors. This excellent idea owed much to the continuing initiative of Charles S. Hyneman.

The appearance of this symposium (which, unhappily, does not include the debates) indicates something very important about the present state of academic departments of political science in this country. It is generally rec-

ognized that academic departments of economics have maintained a working consensus about the scope of their intellectual operations by putting systematic, descriptive theory at the core of their curriculum. Questions of ethics and law, or of institutional detail and practical technique have been devolved upon schools of business or left to other parts of the University. Departments of political science have achieved no such unity of outlook and procedure. The central courses in political theory continue to reflect the diverse concern of the teaching faculty with public law, philosophy, and history; broadly speaking, they have been inept in distinguishing among these frames of reference with sufficient clarity and creativity to provide theoretical models of high calibre in jurisprudence, philosophy, or science.

The most drastic center of innovation in the twenties and thirties was Charles E. Merriam's department at the University of Chicago. He gave a boost to the systematic descriptive study of the subject and this pattern spread, by partial incorporation at least, very widely. At the same time the department members having more traditional interests intensified their resistance to this threat to their interpretation of the field. As a result the implementation of the scientific program has been retarded. Such a program calls for implementation in two directions: the improvement of theoretical models and the equipment of investigators with appropriate skills of data gathering and processing. The power struggle within many political science departments has been sufficiently intense to retard the modification of the curriculum to permit graduate students to acquire the competences which are essential to the realization of the scientific vision.

The result has been that while able scholars in political science departments were struggling to get ahead, neighboring academic departments have expanded rapidly into the intellectual near-vacuum, especially departments carrying conventional labels such as sociology, psychology, anthropology, and economics. The task of giving scientific attention to politics is to an increasing extent performed outside departments carrying the tag "political science" or "government." As more political scientists perceive the relative decline of their role the usual range of responses appears. The present one is among the most "realistic" in the sense that it provides a sample of the perspectives current in the profession and a few exemplifications of what can be expected from neighboring disciplines by way of providing theories and procedures which, if blended with the tradition, can contribute to the common cause of advancing knowledge.

Given the setting sketched above it is intelligible why some political scientists devote themselves in this symposium to the mission of showing how philosophy and the history of political theory can contribute to the scientific study of politics. Carl J. Friedrich calls attention to three philosophical positions which, he believes, challenge the normative assumptions upon which much empirical work is expressly or implicitly based. Robert G. McCloskey is especially original in suggesting how the history of American political theory, as exemplified chiefly in our institutions, can be used to demonstrate the basic characteristics of "the American political mind." Frederick M. Watkins draws an adroit parallel between the role of experimental psychology in relation to case studies, on the one side, and the place of behavioral research in relation to the history of politics (including theory). Mulford Z. Sibley states some propositions of Plato in ways that can stimulate the imagination and perhaps guide the research of students of politics. Louis Hartz exemplifies his general contention that the structure of ideas has creative impact upon the political process by considering the factors that account for the weakness of Marxism in America. Each of these articles—and some others of this group—contains valuable proposals for the political sociologist.

Political scientists who are less committed to "political theory" as a whole than the preceding scholars, and who are more narrowly focussed upon systematic description, are represented by Richard C. Snyder and Charles B. Hagan. Snyder gives a brief recapitulation of a "Decision-Making Approach" and Charles B. Hagan deals with the "Group."

The papers from non-political scientists are well-calculated to serve many valuable purposes. They will probably exercise a substantial impact upon seminar reading in graduate departments. Charles E. Osgood gives a masterly exposition of learning theory as a preface to his own specialized models relating to communication. T. W. Newcomb does an equally distinguished job on communication theory. Angus Campbell puts the problem of "identification" squarely as the focus of investigation. Harold Guetzkow writes a superbly lucid, creative and critical introduction to "small-group models." The paper that will probably have the most immediate effect upon political scientists is Scott Greer's bold and fact-packed challenge to the traditional interpretation of what the city does to people. Political scientists feel at home with the urban context and are immediately capable of using and adopting many of the methods suitable to its study.

It was a happy thought to invite Talcott Par-

sons to provide an outline of his "Theory of Action." Parsons rises to the occasion by suggesting some applications to the study of politics. Meagre as these hints are they will be of use in the task of discovering equivalencies, deficiencies, and advantages in such systematic theories of the political and social process as now exist.

It will not be feasible to go much further than to add a word of welcome to the remaining non-political scientists: Marion J. Levy, Jr., Gordon W. Blackwell, Floyd Hunter, Peter H. Rossi. Sociologists who interest themselves in intellectual and historical institutions will find many fascinating exhibits in this collection. They will, for instance, compare the vision and temperateness of most of the political scientists with Lindsay Rogers. Hans Morgenthau, for example, presents a plausible, if debatable, solution to the curricular problem of political science by suggesting that it rest on three cornerstones: political sociology, political theory, and political institutions. The sociologist who reads Rogers will have a better understanding of the factors that explain why so many valuable advances in political science have been made outside the framework of the departments conventionally entrusted with this responsibility. I am, of course, sure that no sociologist would be so narrowly identified with the interests of his own conventional label that he would take pleasure in our handicaps.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL
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The Affluent Society. By JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958. xii, 368 pp. \$5.00.

In his latest book, Galbraith employs to great advantage the abilities exhibited in his earlier works, principally *American Capitalism* and *Economics and the Art of Controversy*: a wide-ranging intelligence, a lucid and pleasantly mordant style, and, above all, a keen eye for unanalyzed assumptions. Galbraith's targets are now more central than the ones previously encountered and the fire aimed at them is more concentrated and of a heavier caliber. His concern is not only with the central problem of economics—affluence, its preconditions and consequences—but the social and cultural context within which this wealth is generated. For these reasons, Galbraith's new book is much more far-reaching and more exciting than his earlier works.

The Affluent Society's most general theme is the not-unfamiliar one that our theories have failed to keep pace with our practices. Customarily this theme has been treated in terms of some naive conception of "cultural lag." Gal-

braith, however, is more systematic and more penetrating in his assessment of old assumptions in the light of new conditions: as the Malthusian society of the Industrial Revolution shaped the perspectives of classical economics, so an affluent, anti-Malthusian society—that is, one where resources (goods) press on population—requires a new set of postulates. "... how new and varied become the problems we must ponder," writes Galbraith (p. 160), "when we break the nexus with the work of Ricardo and face the economics of affluence of the world in which we live. It is easy to see why the conventional wisdom resists so stoutly such change. It is a far, far better thing to have a firm anchor in nonsense than to put out on the troubled seas of thought."

The axiomatic importance of productivity is one of the legacies from the era of Malthus and Ricardo which Galbraith calls into question. He finds our concern with it fundamental and at the same time uneven and inconsistent. Moreover, he finds it is in basic conflict with our surplus economy wherein (in what might be called a modern version of Say's Law) production is made to create its own demand through the agency of salesmanship. Galbraith contrasts our artificially stimulated consumer demand with an economic theory which formally adheres to the doctrine that wants are indigenous, equal, and unlimited. These theoretical issues are woven together with discussions of a host of practical matters: income inequality, economic stability, inflation, taxes, national security, etc. One of the author's principal contentions is that the pursuit of goods produced and marketed in the private sector of the economy (e.g. cars) has meant a massive neglect of services produced in the public sector (e.g. education). Once again, this is not a new argument but Galbraith's presentation of it is of an altogether superior cogency. His treatment is the more compelling in that he is able to demonstrate, in terms of both theory and history, how we got ourselves into this contretemps and what keeps us there. He even offers some suggestions as to how we might get out of it.

Galbraith's is not, of course, the first revolt economics has seen since Adam Smith smote the Mercantilists and established the new verities. The reader could, however, come away with that impression, so dashing does Galbraith carry off his critique of earlier stages of economic thinking. His exposure of the presumed deficiencies of "the conventional wisdom" of economics is probably better calculated to endear him to non-economists than to his fellow professionals. Yet *The Affluent Society* is neither a debunking of academic economics in the name of socialism or common sense, nor an

institutionalist attack on old-fogey theorists. Nor is it merely a garland of happily contrived epigrams, or a popular primer on economics presented in the modern idiom—richer, smoother, definitely milder. Finally, it is not another exercise in that now tiresome genre, the awestruck celebration of the American success wherein Marx is cunningly refuted by the appearance of the middle classes and the new, chastened corporation. Rather, this book is a knowledgeable, carefully reasoned, and highly sophisticated critique of central problems of economic theory and of social life.

In his frontal attack on the key assumptions and problems of economics, Galbraith finds himself carried right out of that well-tilled domain into the rude frontierlands of sociology. He is confronted with the question: "What ends do people seek and what are the consequences of their doing so?" This sort of query can prove very exasperating for economists who, assuming efficiency in the use of resources as a standard for evaluation, are accustomed to dealing with quantifiable problems in a relatively precise fashion. Sociologists are more likely (though increasingly less so) to have adjusted themselves to such woolly inquiries and should welcome a book which, by implication, attests to the potential significance of their discipline.

The Affluent Society is, however, an excellent piece of evidence for the contention that the most seminal books on American society are not written by professional sociologists. From Vebien to our own era, natives who come originally at least from another part of the forest seem to have discovered the best water holes. Just why this should be the case is a question to occasion some somber thoughts among us.

MICHAEL S. OLMSTED

Smith College

The Changing Population of the United States.

By CONRAD TAEUBER and IRENE B. TAEUBER.
Census Monograph Series. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958. London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd. xi, 357 pp. \$7.75.

In many countries students of population are still bedeviled by the lack of accurate and reliable demographic source materials. Only in advanced industrial nations are population statistics relatively adequate although major deficiencies and important lacunae still persist in the primary demographic sources of all nations, even the most advanced. Despite the remaining limitations, demographers in modern countries now also face the opposite problem: decennial censuses and continuous records of vital statistics furnish more data than can be conveniently analyzed and interpreted.

In the United States, the Bureau of the Census has long recognized the need for thorough analysis and evaluation of its statistical compilations. During the 19th century the census volumes often included textual evaluations and comments. Since 1900 the expansion in the scope of census activities has made it increasingly desirable to supplement the summary statistical tabulations of the census volumes with special studies and whole series of monographs, published separately. Each census monograph usually provides an intensive analysis of a particular subject area. Although they greatly enhance our understanding of various demographic phenomena, the separate monographs do not add up to an adequate view of the total picture. From time to time, therefore, an attempt has been made to take stock and present an overall view of the changes which have occurred in the American population. In 1909 the Census Bureau published William S. Rossiter's *A Century of Population Growth in the United States, 1790-1900*. The present volume carries the story forward another fifty years.

In the preface the Taeubers state that their study "is more modest than its predecessors" but the contents of the volume belie their modesty. This book brings together in summary outline a vast body of data about the changes which have taken place in the population of the United States during 160 years. The authors have organized their materials in four parts. The six chapters of Part I analyze the numerical growth and the residential distribution of the American people. They include discussions of immigration and internal migration as well as changes in age and sex composition. Part II deals with the social characteristics of the population; one chapter each is devoted to marital status, households and families, education, economic activities, and income. Part III treats natural increase, consisting of one chapter on fertility and one on mortality. Part IV, entitled *Conclusions*, contains a chapter which attempts to trace some of the interrelations between natural increase, immigration, and spatial distribution patterns. The final chapter deals with the future, briefly outlining the changes in size and structure of the American population which now seem in prospect for the next twenty years.

Throughout, the authors have brought to bear their truly sovereign command of the materials which their long experience and prominence in the field has afforded them. The book is well written and will prove invaluable to students and other readers who wish to familiarize themselves with population developments in the United States. Yet to the sociologist interested in population phenomena the book is somewhat disappointing. Although the authors have aimed at "an overall view of the changing American

population," they have failed to provide a general analytical framework for their conclusions and interpretations.

An overall picture of one of the world's major populations should not be narrowly topical. The demographic history of the United States is an integral part of the dramatic birth of a nation on a new continent and of the transition of this nation from a simple agricultural to a highly complex urban-industrial social structure. In terms of demographic theory it represents an instructive case of a population passing through the various phases of the demographic cycle. The several stages of this process could have been brought out in much bolder relief by tracing demographic developments explicitly—however briefly—against the colorful economic and historical background. The Taeubers' story is a meticulous chronicle of what has happened to the population of this nation since its inception but they have carefully refrained from committing themselves to any general causal interpretation. Perhaps this is wholly appropriate to the format of a census monograph but this reviewer cannot help feeling that an explicit theoretical framework would have added considerable historical depth and sociological perspective to the demographic tale.

KURT B. MAVER

Brown University

Abortion in the United States. Edited by MARY STEICHEN CALDERONE. A Conference Sponsored by the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc. Introduction by M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU. New York: Harper & Bros., Paul B. Hoeber Inc., 1958. vii, 224 pp. \$5.50.

Pregnancy, Birth and Abortion. By PAUL H. GEBHARD, WARDELL B. POMEROV, CLYDE E. MARTIN and CORNELIA V. CHRISTENSON. New York: Harper & Bros., Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1958. xiii, 282 pp. \$6.00.

The editing of the 1955 conference on abortion, sponsored by the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, has been superbly executed by the medical director of the Federation in a report which makes fascinating reading. The objective of the conference was to survey the problem of illegal abortion from medical, legal, psychological, and sociological points of view, a combination which often produced stimulating exchanges of opinion. Most of the participants were medical doctors in the fields of public health, psychiatry, obstetrics, and gynecology. The consensus was that abortion in any form is unfortunate and, at best, the lesser of two evils. It constitutes a major social problem in contemporary America. Indirect and fragmentary evidence suggests a current estimate for the United States of possibly as low as two

hundred thousand a year to as high as six times this number.

The only reliable evidence on incidence relates to therapeutic abortions performed in hospitals, which is regarded as insignificant by comparison to the number illegally induced. An analysis of a New York City hospital series of therapeutic abortions reveals a sharp increase in the use of mental illness (mainly psychoneurosis) as a medical rationale for abortion. Partly this reflects the increasing legitimacy of psychiatry and partly that physical medicine has advanced so that abortions are rarely legal in terms of being required to save the mother's life. A threat of suicide may be more effective. One implication of this is that "legal" abortions are more accessible to persons who can afford a psychiatrist.

The sociologists' main contribution to this symposium was to inject a much-needed sense of cultural relativism into the discussion with reports on the practice and function of abortion in other societies. Clarence Senior summarized some of Devereux's research on abortion in primitive societies as well as his own of Puerto Rico, while Irene Taeuber described the social background of abortion and its demographic consequences in Japan.

The state laws on abortion (a summary of which is appended along with birth control laws) are clearly unenforceable and have the effect of promoting the practice of illegal abortion; the chances of modifying state laws are remote. The conference closed on this note with a number of recommendations reflecting the idea that the best long-run hope is to educate people about the techniques of preventing conception within a philosophy of responsible parenthood.

In *Pregnancy, Birth and Abortion* we turn to an empirical study, the impetus for which can be partly attributed to A. C. Kinsey's participation in the conference reported above. Three of the authors were co-authors of the two famous Kinsey reports on sexual behavior. The main contribution of this latest report from the Institute for Sex Research is considered to be the presentation of factual information on a large scale on "conceptions among unmarried females and the prevalence of induced illegal abortion among both married and unmarried females in this country." And statistical point estimations are abundant: a 10 per cent incidence of premarital conceptions by age 40 for all women, ranging from a 9 to a 21 per cent incidence among women who ultimately marry depending upon age at marriage, and approximately 90 per cent of premarital conceptions terminating in induced abortion. Comparable and additional estimates are presented for married women, previously married women, Negro women, and women in prison. The statistical analyses are

as a rule carefully designed and include a systematic control on the age factor. The main sociological variables analyzed are education and degree of religious devoutness among Protestants, the only religious grouping of sufficient size to permit subdivision. Birth-cohort analyses are included in an attempt to measure time trends in rates of pre-marital conceptions, abortions, and the like. Data are also presented on the costs of abortion, procedures, and consequences. The book concludes with surveys of abortion problems in other countries and a bibliography of particular value on the subject of abortion.

Regrettably, an otherwise important contribution is compromised seriously by the nature of the sampling procedures. With some minor exclusions, the data are derived from the same collection of interviews obtained in the study of the sexual behavior of the female. To the authors' credit, the now well-publicized biases in the sample are clearly enumerated and the group and volunteer nature of the sample re-emphasized. Considering the type of information sought initially, this may have been unavoidable. But now we are offered a publication based on the same data, which suggests statistical values of demographic significance. And other volumes from the same data are promised for future publication. Despite the authors' disclaimers about the sample, their wishful thinking occasionally gets the better of them and they obviously find it difficult to resist making claims for some representativeness. Thus, the educational bias revealed by the fact that 80 per cent of the sample had been to college is gradually converted to a statement that "our white non-prison females when taken as a unit correspond to the socio-economically upper 20 per cent of the U. S. population," and, a page later, "educational level, our measure of socio-economic status, permits us to extend our findings to a considerable segment of the urban white U. S. population." This "segment" is located by Christopher Tietze (in the role of a statistical consultant) in the urban white census populations of 1940 and 1950 in an analysis published also, with some changes, as an appendix in the volume edited by Calderone. A number of comparisons reveal biases in the expected direction. Given the nature of the original non-probability, volunteer sample, it is difficult to comprehend the logical implication that the correspondence of a few sample values with those of some larger population increases confidence in the reliability of the incidence estimates presented.

Although this work does provide data on a subject which is obviously difficult to investigate through normal probability sampling, it would be refreshing to read in the next volume the unelaborated observation, made by Tietze and

others, that in a strict statistical sense, these histories represent only themselves.

CHARLES F. WESTOFF

Princeton University

Drug Addiction: Physiological, Psychological, and Sociological Aspects. By DAVID P. AUSUBEL. New York: Random House, 1958. 126 pp. \$.95, paper.

This book purports to be an integrated presentation of all aspects of the drug problem. Actually it is less than that. The author was a medical officer at the Public Health Service Hospital in Lexington during 1946 and 1947 but does not claim the book is based upon observations made there but rather that it is derived from a "critical and interpretive survey of the literature."

The author's theory of addiction is woven into the text in many places and follows conventional psychiatric lines. Addiction is said to be based upon the adjustive value of the euphoria produced by drugs in certain personality types. In contrast to others who hold to this kind of theory, Dr. Ausubel is relatively tolerant of other kinds of theories but sometimes does not state them correctly. He also pays more than the usual amount of attention to cultural and sociological influences.

In view of the author's emphasis upon euphoria said to be produced by opiates, it is interesting to inquire how he knows that drugs have this effect since he says that addicts commonly deny it and claim they use drugs only to feel normal. Ausubel rejects the addict's testimony, but who else can tell us how drugs make an addict feel? Another inconsistency is presented by the almost rhapsodic description of the effects of marihuana. The euphoria produced by this drug seems to exceed greatly that produced by heroin or morphine. According to the author's own theory it should therefore be more habit forming than the opiates, but it is not.

The most serious weaknesses of the book spring from the author's unfamiliarity with criminal law administration and with enforcement practices in this country and abroad. A few pages are devoted to opium problems in China but there are only a few sentences about the much more important matter of European practices. Ausubel states simply that addiction never became a serious problem in Europe "for reasons difficult to ascertain" and that European drug laws are strictly enforced. He equates "legalization" of addiction with "allowing everyone free access to the drug." Actually no one advocates this. Addiction is "legalized" in Britain and in many other countries, but it is ridiculous to suppose that this means universal free access to drugs in these countries. The author deplors

the fact that addicts in this country are treated as criminals and locked up in jails. He proposes to remedy this by locking them up in hospitals for compulsory cures instead. His suggestions for reform, in the final chapter, turn out to be all the old familiar bromides.

ALFRED R. LINDESMITH

Indiana University

Patterns in Criminal Homicide. By MARVIN E. WOLFGANG. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958. xiv, 413 pp. \$8.00.

The significance of criminology proceeds far beyond its own restricted area and has implications for sociological research in general. Criminology has benefited because of its access to resources not always readily available to other sociologists and because of the fruitful associations which criminologically interested sociologists have developed over the course of many years with practitioners in penology.

These salutary advances, however, have not freed criminology from many serious theoretical and research disabilities, notably the lack of a strong theoretical foundation geared to wider sociological perspectives. Indeed, despite many of the natural advantages from which criminology has benefited, there have been long barren stretches in its development when it regarded itself primarily as an auxiliary science. From this dependent position, it tended to move in one of two directions—either towards a type of barren eclecticism or towards a naive and raw empiricism. There have been two significant trends since the 1920s: the first of these is the emphasis upon straightforward factual surveys of various types criminal and delinquent populations—of which any one of the Gluecks' studies may be taken as a conspicuous example—and the second is the encouraging development of empirically grounded theoretical studies, as exemplified in Albert K. Cohen's recent stimulating study of the delinquent subculture in urban areas. Wolfgang's work seems to fit squarely in the tradition of the neo-positivist type of quantitative study. As such, it is a model of precise and painstaking statistical analysis of sociological data relating to the incidence of criminal homicide. Among the principal merits of such a work is the effort to indicate the vast lacunae in our research on a single question. The author has succeeded admirably and with commendable precision in delineating these unknown areas.

For his sample, the author has employed 588 cases of criminal homicide that occurred in Philadelphia between January 1, 1948, and December 31, 1952. Recognizing the variation in the jurisdictional identification of such cases, the research employs police records in preference to coroners' reports, court records,

and prison commitments as a means of establishing an operational category for the determination of homicide cases. Falling within this classification are first and second degree murders and cases of manslaughter, both voluntary and involuntary. In the effort to locate statistical regularities, associations, and differentials among the 588 victims and 621 offenders involved, the research analyzes an enormous range of data, including race, sex, and age differences, methods and weapons, seasonal and temporal patterns, spatial patterns, alcohol and homicide, degree of violence, motives, interpersonal relations between victim and offender, felony murders, victim-precipitated homicide, unsolved homicide, the tempo of legal procedures, court dispositions, and insanity. This should suffice to give some indication of the scope and range of the study.

Although some questions may be raised concerning the author's complete reliance upon chi-square tests of significance to determine "associations of numerous attributes of victims and offenders" (p. 318), the methodology appears relatively adequate for the purposes of this particular type of study. Commendable is the effort of the author to review some of the outstanding research and survey materials on criminal homicide in this country in relation to the data he discloses. What is to be seriously questioned, however, is the pertinence of some of this research to the kind of data he presents.

One cannot help but be reminded at this juncture of Durkheim's classic study of suicide where similar precision in statistical delineation is attempted but where the statistical patterns are made an integral part of a comprehensive theoretical point of view. Perhaps this is too much to expect at this stage in the attempt to comprehend a problem about which so little is really known. Without such a theoretical framework, however, much of the value of such a prodigious effort as this work represents may be seriously dissipated. Despite the highly suggestive nature of some of the associations revealed, research of this type may often resolve itself into a series of unrelated tabulations. The reviewer makes this statement mindful of the significance of accurate statistical distinctions and associations, and with considerable respect for the backbreaking job such a study entails. The author is undoubtedly correct when he says: "No previous study known to the author has analyzed criminal homicide with the detail and precision of the present research." In this, the reviewer heartily concurs.

Emerging from the study, however, are some highly significant and provocative suggestions. Principal among such implications is the possibility that there may exist within the broader

community culture a distinctive subculture of violence in which "quick resort to physical aggression is a socially approved and expected concomitant of certain stimuli." (p. 329) The high incidence of homicide among Negroes, according to the author, suggests that such a cultural pattern may be concentrated among certain depressed segments of the Negro population, a concept advanced some years before by Dollard and Davis in their studies of class differentials among Negro youth. It is at this point that a hypothetical structure would be welcome indicating the characteristic functional strain of the Negro family structure which might account not only for violence but for that kind of violence which culminates in homicide.

The fact that large percentages of Negroes fall within our lowest occupational strata may account for the high male Negro homicide rates observed, suggesting an association between depressed socioeconomic levels and homicide rather than with a particular Negro subculture *per se*. In recognition of this, the author finds no significant difference in the white and Negro male rates among offenders when the factor of occupational status is taken into consideration, although the method for the establishment of this fact requires considerably more refinement than produced in this study. Nevertheless, it is suggested by the author that a biological explanation of this significant race differential should not be excluded from further study (p. 330).

Significant facts concerning the high percentages of offenders with previous arrests for aggravated assaults, the association between alcohol, week-end slayings and the payment of wages on Friday, and the decrease in homicide due to improved communications and medical technology offer a great many pragmatic considerations which might prove extremely beneficial to public authorities.

Facts in themselves, however, are strangely mute and have little relevance except in relation to a series of carefully stipulated and precisely formulated hypothetical questions raised prior to the research itself. It is in this way that the noteworthy objective stated some years ago by Thorsten Sellin in his *Culture Conflict and Crime* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938) might be most effectively accomplished: "Ultimately science must be able to state that if a person with certain personality elements in a certain configuration happens to be placed in a certain typical life situation, he will probably react in a certain manner, whether the law punishes this response as a crime or tolerates it as unimportant."

HERBERT A. BLOCH

Brooklyn College

Poland: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture.

By CLIFFORD R. BARNETT and others. New Haven: HRAF Press, 1958. 471 pp. Distributed by Taplinger Publishing Co., 119 W. 57 St., N.Y. 19. \$7.50.

Competent studies of the countries under Russian domination are in great demand because they are in the focus of interest of most contemporary socio-political discussions. In a sense these countries serve as the ground for gauging the chances of communist expansion, for testing the vitality of Western ideas, and for observing the emergence of new forms of social organization. Therefore, this book on Poland is a welcome contribution. It provides the best and most up-to-date information available on the current situation in Poland and is a clear guide to the perplexities of Polish life.

The book is the first of a series entitled "Survey of World Cultures" which is being edited by Thomas Fitzsimmons. It is published under the auspices of the Human Relations Area Files, a non-profit research organization sponsored and supported by sixteen American universities. The contributing authors for this volume are: Robert J. Feldman, John C. Fiske, Peter Malof, Florence K. Niernan, Otto R. Reischer, and Egon R. Tausch. A number of other persons were commissioned to furnish excerpts and translations and several Polish informants were consulted. Unpublished research studies and materials collected by Dr. Alicja Iwanska and Professor Sula Benet were utilized in addition to standard sources. Clifford Barnett has succeeded in unifying all the contributions and has achieved a well-integrated and highly readable document.

Omitting little that is historically and sociologically important, the book gives a compact picture of Polish culture, of the major social institutions and organizations of Polish society, and describes the dominant attitudes and values of the Polish people. There are excellent chapters on the family, religion, the structure and function of government, art and literary expressions, and economic development. Chapters that analyze social organization, values and attitudes, and the dynamics of political behavior are of special interest to sociologists. These chapters contain the key to an understanding of past developments and current events in Poland.

The great problem facing Poland today is the fact that the dominant values and cultural ideals of the Polish people run counter to the requirements of a modern industrial state. The average Pole places the highest value upon his individual assertions of difference. The irrepressible individualism of Poles creates a barrier to planned enterprise and the acceptance of authority.

Poles are unwilling to submerge themselves in any group unless it becomes clearly necessary for national or individual survival.

"The Pole's obsession with personal autonomy and integrity so fragments loyalties and interests that few existing institutions or values contribute to working out the problem of a modern state. There is unity in language, religion, national consciousness, patriotism, but in little else. Within the society there is little concerted and effective action on the part of groups of individuals for anything not directly related to the defense or welfare of Poland" (p. 401). In the absence of a perceived threat which would call for heroism and self-sacrifice, Polish society tends to be fragmented and there is a general unwillingness to work together. As a result, the present government "failing to eliminate fractionalism and separatist tendencies within its mass organizations has been able to accomplish little in its effort to create a regimented society, responsive to the political and economic needs of the state" (p. 373).

The information on specific topics provided by this survey of Poland is detailed and accurate. It is an excellent reference book.

THEODORE ABEL

Hunter College

Soziale Schichtung und Sozialer Wandel in Einer Industriegemeinde: Eine soziologische Untersuchung der Stadt Euskirchen. By RENATE MAYNTZ. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1958. ix, 281 pp. DM 23.

Euskirchen, a small industrial city of about 18,000 inhabitants in the lower Rhine Valley not far from Cologne, received its city charter in 1302. In celebration of its 650th anniversary the city not only commissioned a two-volume history but also requested the UNESCO Institute for Social Sciences in Cologne to undertake an empirical study of the contemporary community. Given a completely free hand by the city, the Institute decided to forego the conventional type of broadly descriptive community study. Instead, the investigation was focused on the class structure of the city and its changes since the beginning of the 19th century. The research was directed by Dr. Renate Mayntz, the author of this report, who now teaches sociology at the Free University of Berlin.

Data were gathered in three different ways: (1) a special retabulation of the 1950 census schedules was made; (2) other statistical materials were collected from a variety of local sources, especially from marriage licenses, election reports, city directories, membership lists, etc.; (3) the bulk of the data, however, was derived from interview surveys undertaken in 1955. Intensive informal interviews with 30 selected key persons were followed and supple-

mented by a lengthy formal interview with a random sample of 864 inhabitants, derived from the city's voting lists which contain the names of all residents over 21 years of age.

The data have been analyzed with consummate care and the findings are presented in a skillful, sophisticated manner. The first two chapters are descriptive. They provide an overview of the city's population and ecology and trace the changes of the community's occupational structure over the last 150 years. From a very small agricultural market town, Euskirchen was gradually transformed into a modern industrial city. Its factories, largely textile plants, are medium-size, locally owned, and operated under owner-management. The city continues to serve as a regional trading center and as a county (*Kreis*) seat. The population is 85 per cent Catholic. About 13 per cent are refugees and expellees who have been absorbed fairly successfully into the local population.

The analysis of social stratification, which is taken up in Chapter 3, employs a whole arsenal of subjective and objective methods. The respondents were asked to describe the city's class structure in their own words, to rank selected occupations in accordance with their own class schema, and to identify their own class position. In addition, the author analyzed the various occupation groups according to income, possessions, age at marriage, family size, home ownership, and other variables. The upshot is a picture of a multi-dimensional hierarchy of occupational and status groups. The dividing lines appear fairly clearcut at the top and at the bottom but they are rather blurred and overlapping in the middle. The line between unskilled and skilled manual workers appears to be about as important as that which divides skilled blue collar workers from the lower white collar groups.

The discussion of occupational mobility is based primarily upon the analysis of marriage certificates dating back to the 1830s. The historical comparisons show a continuous decrease of occupational inheritance from father to son. Group differences in the amount of intergenerational mobility have not disappeared, however. Mobility into and out of the top and bottom groups is still significantly smaller than the interchange between the intermediate groups. The overall increase in mobility has been paralleled by an increase of intermarriage between different occupational groups, although barriers still persist. In-group marriages are especially frequent among the top occupational groups. As would be expected, membership in voluntary organizations and informal social associations are also clearly related to occupational position, yet there is considerable contact across the lines between adjoining groups. Dividing lines are recogniz-

able but they are blurred and fluid, rather than categorical.

The final chapter deals in a limited way with some aspects of the power structure, again in historical perspective. Prior to World War I the composition of the City Council was quite homogeneous; it was dominated by manufacturers and other upper class individuals. Thereafter, the upper class largely withdrew from active political leadership; the Council is now composed primarily of middle class persons. Manual workers are represented, but not in proportion to their numbers in the total population. This development again underscores the multi-dimensionality of the contemporary stratification system.

The author concludes that the social structure of Euskirchen differs to some extent from the typical model of modern industrial society. The picture presented seems to fit in quite well with the nationwide findings about German stratification and mobility recently reported by Janowitz. Moreover, the findings appear very familiar to the American reader. Throughout, I had the impression that there is little difference between the class structure of this German community and that of many an American town of similar size. In part this may be due to the increasing approximation between the German and the American stratification systems; in part it is probably an artifact of the level of abstraction which submerges the cultural differences between German and American society. This is no criticism of the study, however, which represents an excellent example of theoretically informed and methodologically sound research.

KURT B. MAYER

Brown University

A Serbian Village. By JOEL MARTIN HALPERN. Illustrations by BARBARA KERESKY HALPERN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958. xxii, 325 pp. \$6.00.

The Moral Basis of a Backward Society. By EDWARD C. BANFIELD. With the assistance of LAURA FUSANO BANFIELD. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press; Research Center in Economic Development and Cultural Change, University of Chicago, 1958. 204 pp. \$4.00.

One may reasonably question why the growing number of small community studies. Perhaps, in part, such studies are a reaction formation against statistic-gathering surveys which are almost ends-unto-themselves. The elaborate mechanism and five-figure budgets seemingly required for urban research have caused many of us to scurry for the hills. Conrad Arensberg, in his introduction to Halpern's work, notes the small community is the stronghold of the lone-wolf researcher. Other reasons can be suggested.

The work of applied social scientists in underdeveloped areas has revealed many lacunae in our body of knowledge. These gaps may be filled through concerted community investigations. Further, study of small communities affords researchers opportunities for integrating theories of both anthropology and sociology.

The studies here presented are excellent examples of valuable contributions which can be made in the field of the comparative community. The foci of these works differed; hence, different views emerge. Yet patterns of peasant society are overwhelmingly similar and each study acts as a building block for construction of a theory of peasantry.

Halpern's study holds fast to ethnological tradition in obtaining a complete record of life in Orasac, a village in the Sumadija Region south of Belgrade. Employing techniques far too often ignored by ahistorical or anti-historical sociologists, Halpern places the village in its historical and geographic setting. The village had been chosen as the site of a United Nations community development project. His study was an attempt to record the culture before concerted efforts for planned change had taken place. The "independent road to socialism" followed by the Tito regime since World War II has had some influence on village culture. Changes have been greatest in ideology of the local schools and the influence of purchasing cooperatives on agricultural economics. However, Communism has had but superficial impact on the life of the village as a whole. Collectivization and forced quotas have been abandoned; land remains in small tracts farmed individually or held by the *zadruga* (extended family). In marked contrast to nuclear family patterns of South Italy described by Banfield, the *zadruga* enforces a tradition of mutual help and interdependence. Ties of clan and blood brotherhood remain strong, patriarchal authority is far from extinct, and *zadruga* traditions give way but slowly to rising individualism.

Halpern indicates strong communal feelings are manifested in Orasac, citing such evidence of village unity as vocal references to "my villager" and use of nicknames. Indications of this nature are not necessarily proof of community for the Italian makes reference to his *paesani*, uses *soprannomi* (nicknames) and expresses feelings of *campanilismo*. In Italy, however, this serves to indicate only that the peasant's horizon is co-terminus with his village and he distrusts his fellow villagers a little less than he distrusts outsiders. In many ways the Serbian peasant is different—he loves the soil he works; the Italian, at best, ruefully accepts his lot. Stratification in Halpern's community stands in marked contrast to the social system of Italian villages. The earlier breakdown of feudalism and

less prestigious position of the craftsman in Serbia contribute to a greater homogeneity than that exhibited in South Italy. Halpern's use of autobiographies, school children's essays, and excellent illustrative material affords the reader a well-rounded picture of Serbian village life.

A different type of village emerges in Banfield's study. "Montegrano," a Lucanian village lies deep in the heartland of *la miseria*, the melancholia of lamentation which seethes in the social and economic deprivation that is South Italy. Poverty, ignorance, and the overwhelming calamity-death orientation of the peasant form the backdrop against which Banfield pursues answers to some basic problems. One general question dominates and sets the theme: "What accounts for the political incapacity of the village?" The study explores in depth the inability and unwillingness of villagers to organize communal efforts to move from dead-center.

Banfield explores traditional answers to this question and finds them insufficient in their explanation. His quest leads him to investigate the village's economy, its system of social stratification, and its ethos. Poverty acts as a crushing weight on the peasant and the inequities so evident in the quasi-feudal pattern of stratification serve as capstone to the pyramid of antagonism that constitutes life in the village. Yet, Banfield notes that these factors alone do not account for the lack of political participation. He hypothesizes that his villager acts as an "amoral familist," that is, one whose behavior seems to follow this rule: "maximize the material, short-run advantage of the nuclear family; assume that all others will do likewise." From this "rule" follow seventeen derivative hypotheses. Strong support for the hypotheses is found in the data presented and in the works of such independent researchers as Pitkin, McDonald, and Cappannari and Moss.

Banfield is careful to note that his village is "typical" of South Italy only in certain respects. Though regional diversification prevents sweeping generalizations, the author has gone a long way in providing a sound theoretical structure to explain the problems of South Italy. Use of T.A.T. materials provides sharp insights into the ethos of peasantry. Concentration on family as the unit of social organization obscures other patterns but it is a necessary approach in this context. As Cappannari and Moss have noted elsewhere: "The family is Italy's greatest strength and greatest weakness. Because of the family Italian culture has survived wars, invasions, and governmental crises. But because of the family, strictures are placed on participation in voluntary associations or communal affairs."

Each of these volumes in its own way provides

new insights into contemporary peasant societies. They are important contributions to a growing body of theory which will help clarify rural-urban distinctions. They are the kinds of books this reviewer wishes he had written.

LEONARD W. MOSS

Wayne State University

Bangalore (A Socio-Ecological Study). By K. N. VENKATARAYAPPA. University of Bombay Publications, Sociology Series, No. 6. Bombay: University of Bombay, 1957. 157 pp. Rs. 16.50.

Delhi: A Study in Urban Sociology. By A. BOPEGAMAGE. University of Bombay Publications, Sociology Series, No. 7. Bombay: University of Bombay, 1957. x, 235 pp. Rs. 21.50.

In India, where the urban population of 60-odd million (1951) may be expected to rise perhaps over three-fold in a thirty-year period, the impacts and problems of city life and growth reach staggering proportions. Studies—such as the two under review—which contribute to an understanding of the phenomenon and to its ultimate control are therefore of great interest.

I agree with Redfield, as quoted on the dust-jacket of the Bopegamage volume, that "read simply as a contribution to our understanding of the material conditions of human life in Delhi, it is to be applauded as a significant contribution to knowledge. . . ." As much may be said for the other volume.

Both works were originally prepared as Ph.D. theses, and are based on somewhat limited field work (eight months for Bopegamage, and sixteen months for Venkatarayappa). Both carry subtitles which are somewhat more pretentious than is justified by the studies, since they deal mainly with the gross features of human occupancy in the respective cities. They describe in rather general terms, and with maps and illustrations, the history, development, function, appearance, and quality of the main zones of the cities. A limited amount of field-interview material and census data is correlated with the area descriptions. Only in discussing certain aspects such as housing do the authors delve into the more specific details of occupancy patterns; interactions between institutions and groups are largely glossed over. In consequence both works might fit as well into the field of urban geography or city planning as sociology.

The surveys suffer gravely from the absence of detailed field work of wide scope among different groups of the population and covering many aspects of their social and economic conditions. Much of their insight rests therefore upon personal observation and courageous gen-

eralization from a few existing studies. In part, this general deficiency in Indian sociology is being remedied by the completion of a series of social studies of cities under the impetus of the Planning Commission's research program. The first of this group, *Poona: A Resurvey*, provides an interesting comparison with an earlier survey of Poona, and a basis for weighing both the strengths and weaknesses of the economic-sociological sample survey approach. But a comparison of the two types of studies reveals that in the works under review, there is a specificity in dealing with different areas, and a general understanding of the distribution of activities in space, which is lacking in the broader studies. This understanding is greatly in need of further elaboration for a successful analysis of Indian urban problems.

Both authors exhibit a nice sense of social purpose and responsibility in directing their thinking toward overhauling and renewing the urban environment—without allowing this objective to overwhelm their research. Bopegamage in particular attempts to outline a program for the redevelopment of Delhi, and his capacity to deal with his survey in broader and surer strokes than Venkatarayappa may perhaps justify the boldness of this effort. Having myself studied the problems of replanning Delhi, however, I find in the proposals a naive and dreamlike quality—as illustrated by the suggestion to reduce the population of Old Delhi from 900,000 to 150,000. There is room in India for a more developed division of labor, and for great improvement both in analysis and in action; it is doubtful that one person can excel in both.

Both works are rendered somewhat difficult for the Western reader by the absence of detailed street maps to tie in with the text references.

BRITTON HARRIS

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Urban Society: A College Textbook in Urban Sociology. By WILLIAM E. COLE. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958. 591 pp. \$6.50.

Urban Society is intended for use in either a one semester or a two semester course. The book is divided into four main parts. Part I, "Foundation of Urban Society," is a competent treatment of background and historical development of urban communities. Part II, "Urban Structure and Function," dissects the urban organism in traditional ways—groups, classes, spatial components, power structure, etc. Part III, "The Basic Urban Institutions," deals with family, religion, government, and education. The inclusion of communications and leisure and recreation as institutions seems somewhat

forced. Part IV, "Urban Planning and Development," is a most thoroughgoing treatment of urban problems in their practical implications for planning and administration.

The content of the text demonstrates a commendable exploitation of the most recent literature and demographic statistics. Such documentation is perhaps its most valuable asset.

No book can be everything to everyone nor should any attempt to be. The author has chosen what he calls a "functional approach." In Cole's words:

This book has a functional approach. This is so in order that the student of urban sociology and urban affairs will have something to take away from the course other than theoretical knowledge. This approach is without apology, although theoretical considerations have not been neglected. (p. 564)

This approach enhances the value for one audience while lessening the value for another. Curricula planners are constantly faced with the problem of how to structure course content—whether to direct it toward the beginning or the more advanced students, toward majors or non-majors, etc. The ultimate needs of the consumer as well as assumptions about previous training and background enter into the making of this decision and the choice of text hinges upon this decision.

In the area of urban sociology in particular, such a decision is crucial. The sociology student will look for understanding and explanation within the framework of a relatively systematic, coherent theoretical structure. The practitioner will be more concerned with description and a widening of perspectives so that the problems confronting him may be viewed from a broader context than his more or less circumscribed special field.

Although the author would no doubt enter a disclaimer, he has apparently chosen the latter emphasis and his appeal is more to the parasciologist. In my opinion the practical or

problem approach of the author lives up to its promises and makes this an especially useful book for the prospective social engineer, whether he be a city planner, civic administrator, social worker, politician, or other functionary.

By the same token, the text does hold less promise for the student who is more interested in principles than in problems. Part II raises some false hopes. The title "Urban Structure and Function" turns out to be a convenient rubric for discussion and description of structural elements in a community or society such as classes, groups, etc., but fails to treat of the functions served by these—nor are the structural aspects tied together in any systematic way. The author has dealt with many processes, problems, groups, and institutions, all of which are significant in any urban setting; but he strings them together in an unrelated series of essays instead of showing their interrelationships. In all fairness to the author, it should be pointed out that he early proposes a unifying theme, namely, "adjustment," the "basic adjustments people seek to make in urban cultures" (p. 4). However, it is altogether too broad a concept to be useful in explaining urban society. It is, in fact, the encyclopedic nature of the text which is at once its virtue as well as its limitation.

As a final word, I would like to argue for incorporating "American" into all book titles of this subject matter in which the data, generalizations, examples, and problems are drawn mainly from American society. This argument would be less compelling if the author's emphasis was not on what was called a functional approach concerned with the myriads of problems besetting the American urban community. Many of the problems have their roots in our own peculiar politico-economic heritage rather than urbanization as such.

MORRIS AXELROD

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BOOK NOTES

The Paradox of Progressive Thought. By DAVID W. NOBLE. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958. ix, 272 pp. \$6.00.

Inspired by the method of Carl Becker's *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers*, Professor Noble offers us an interpretation of the climate of opinion shared by leading thinkers in the era of American progressivism. The description of this climate of opinion is built upon an analysis of the writings of nine representative men. These progressive

writers include such academic social scientists as Richard T. Ely, Simon Patten, and Thorstein Veblen—who were concerned largely with economics—and James Mark Baldwin and Charles H. Cooley who were leaders in the emerging disciplines of social psychology and sociology. F. H. Johnson and Walter Rauschenbusch are included to demonstrate the ways in which Protestant theologians established relationships with the progressive climate of opinion; Herbert Croly and Henry Demarest Lloyd are key ex-

amples of journalistic reformers who helped to construct the new visions of social progress.

While Professor Noble's analysis of progressive thought does not have the stylistic ease and clarity of a Carl Becker, every serious student of American intellectual history will want to read his searching examination of the methods of thought employed by these representative contributors to progressive ideas. With a sharp eye for faculty logic, the author exposes the contradictions and dilemmas which beset progressive thinkers as they tried to fashion theories of social progress with the tools of evolution, pragmatism, and historical relativism. In various ways they were trapped in the paradox that Professor Noble believes is central to the intellectual life of the progressives. Imbued with a fervent faith in progress, these progressives were willing to accept the material forces of an industrial and urban civilization as mechanisms of progress, but their projected good society was still inhabited by men who possessed all the moral traits of man in his primitive state as he had so often been imagined by philosophers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.—EDWIN C. ROZWENC

The Mass Communicators: Public Relations, Public Opinion, and Mass Media. By CHARLES S. STEINBERG. New York: Harper & Bros., 1958. x, 470 pp. \$4.50.

The Mass Communicators is a textbook designed for students in schools of mass communications and public relations. The apparent purpose is to supply a fuller understanding of the social and psychological context in which the mass media operate. It is another example of the current efforts to bring social scientific perspectives into professional education.

The author is Director of Press Information of the Columbia Broadcasting System. His policy standpoint reflects the enlightened self-regulation and public service approach of that network. He is not alarmed about a one-party press, the growth of monopoly, the decline in cultural standards, or the "hidden persuaders." The book is unencumbered by any theoretical framework and its review of existing research materials is indeed meagre. Given the persistence of a trade school approach to teaching journalism, this volume represents an intellectual advance in curriculum. However, the small minority of professional schools who are pioneering in mass communications research will not find this text an adequate substitute for exposing their students to original theoretical and research materials.

The book is of no value to teaching and research sociologists.—MORRIS JANOWITZ

The House Without Windows; France Selects a President. By CONSTANTIN MELNIK and NATHAN LEITES. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1958. 358 pp. \$6.25.

Melnik and Leites have written an intensive and thorough study of the election of the President of France in 1953 by the "Congress of Parliament" (a joint session of the National Assembly and the Council of the Republic). The study is part of a continuing program, sponsored by the Rand Corporation, which calls for a detailed analysis of various aspects of French politics. The authors have been applying the same methods to the continuous examination of the activities of the National Assembly itself. "Scientific" equipment includes a recorder and hypotheses about human behavior which are derived from psychoanalysis.

The result is an almost brilliant but rather brittle work which confirms the title, that is, that the Congress like the National Assembly is indeed a "house without windows"; a place where the deputies are characterized by

... an exaggerated sense of their own importance ... [a] disregard of the country's real reactions ... [and] a tendency to ignore the outside world and concentrate almost fanatically on its [the Parliament's] internal affairs.

The study approaches brilliance because the observations are trenchant. It falls short because that is just about all one gets. One wishes that the authors had condensed the descriptive portions and expended some effort in reducing their observations to an ordered pattern. Such an effort would contribute to explanation of the peculiar characteristics of French parliamentary life. Aside from some observations with regard to parallel phenomena in French social life the authors have little or nothing to say on this score.

The result is brittle because the author's objectivity consists of tearing aside the cloaks of the "players" and revealing the "infantile" bases of their "delusions." Perhaps because of the style their comments lack both sympathy and humility. A bit more of both might have added immeasurably to the overall quality of the book.—STANLEY ROTHMAN

Sociology. By GEORGE A. LUNDBERG, CLARENCE C. SCHRAG, and OTTO N. LARSEN. Revised Edition. New York: Harper & Bros., 1958. xxii, 785 pp. \$6.50.

The second edition of this introductory text retains the emphases of the earlier work, and thus whatever strengths and weaknesses attach thereto: science is instrumental, its objectives prediction and control, its procedures operational; scientific principles properly take the form of empirical generalizations; social science and natural science are identical in essence.

There is one totally new chapter, "Sociology and Social Policy," restating Lundberg's position on the roles of sociologist as scientist and citizen; and there are new discussions incorporated throughout. However, this is primarily an organizational revision. Two additional new chapters, "The Processes of Social Interaction" and "The Nature and Interrelationships of Institutions," are largely assemblages of previously scattered materials. Some chapters have shifted location, sections have shifted among chapters, within chapters, and so on. Plates and diagrams have been altered, and a glossary of terms added. Previous users will undoubtedly find this a more coherent package. New readers will find it a carefully prepared text.—SHELDON STRYKER

Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination. By GEORGE EATON SIMPSON and J. MILTON YINGER. Revised Edition. New York: Harper & Bros., 1958. xi, 881 pp. \$7.50.

The five years since the first edition of this valuable text appeared have witnessed signifi-

cant changes in the patterns of intergroup relations and has yielded important experimental studies and empirical research in the field of racial prejudice and discrimination as well as new theoretical considerations of the role of minorities in the social structure. A revision was, therefore, imperative. With intensive revision of about half the chapters and a considerably expanded bibliography such pressing questions as desegregation in education, interracial housing, strategies for reducing prejudice and discrimination, and the place of minorities in economic, political, and legal processes in the United States can now be studied in the light of abundant new published material. The framework of the original text has been in no way altered, however, nor have the authors abandoned their concern for the total empirical scene. The chapters on anti-semitism continue to constitute a distinct contribution to the literature of intergroup relations. The student of minority problems who seeks for analysis rather than description will find this revised text indispensable.

—MARGARET ALEXANDER MARSH

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

(Listing of a publication below does not preclude its subsequent review)

AHMAYAARA, YRJÖ and TOUKO MARKKANEN. *The Unified Factor Model: Its Position in Psychometric Theory and Application to Sociological Alcohol Study.* Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, Distributors for The Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, 1958. 187 pp. Sw. Kr. 18:—, paper.

(AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR HEALTH, PHYSICAL EDUCATION, AND RECREATION). *Report on the National Conference on Education for Leisure: The Role of the Public School.* Washington, D. C.: American Association, NEA, 1957. iii, 72 pp. \$1.00, paper.

BABOW, IRVING and EDWARD HOWDEN. *A Civil Rights Inventory of San Francisco. Part I: Employment.* San Francisco: Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco, 1958. xvii, 352 pp. No price indicated, paper.

BERMAN, CHARLES. *How America Won the Wars and Lost the Peace.* New York: Vantage Press, 1958. 188 pp. \$3.50.

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BROWNE, C. G. and THOMAS S. COHN (Editors). *The Study of Leadership.* Danville, Ill.: Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1958. 487 pp. No price indicated.

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COHEN, NATHAN EDWARD. *Social Work in the American Tradition.* New York: Henry Holt and Co. (Dryden Press), 1958. 404 pp. \$4.75.

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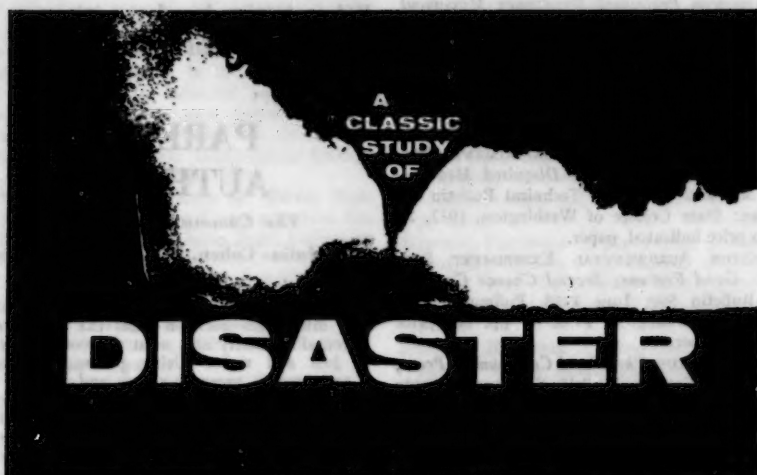
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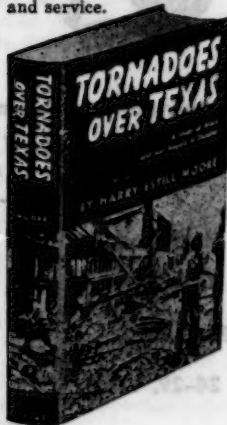
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